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# *The Shape of Things*

THE LONG-AWAITED RED ARMY OFFENSIVE ON the central front is the best news from Europe in many weeks. The Germans were obviously prepared for the blow and had done their best to meet it last summer by counter-attacks which forced the Russians out of good positions in the Sandomierz bridgehead over the Vistula south of Warsaw. However, the tremendous build-up of Russian striking power from East Prussia to Czechoslovakia was too great to hold. The Red Army is stronger than it has ever been and is fighting on traditionally good winter ground. It may go a considerable distance before being checked, though the Germans are concentrated along a shorter line, are closer to home supply bases, and have been strengthened by new divisions obtained through the recent drastic mobilization. The Russians may be heading for Berlin along a short road, but the road will be hard. Certainly it will be as hard as the road from the west, where American and British troops are battling to stave in Rundstedt's Ardennes salient. Evidently no appreciable number of enemy troops is going to be cut off by the Allied counter-attack, and it now appears that the German offensive was successful in the primary objective of relieving pressure on the Saar and Ruhr fronts, thereby gaining time during which the Allies might divide politically. The great hope is now that military cooperation will overrule political differences and that concurrent Allied blows from east and west will eliminate the last German chance.

*

THE MEETING OF THE SPANISH DEPUTIES IN Mexico failed to secure the necessary quorum of one hundred and is therefore incapable of making any important decisions. The actual number attending is seventy-eight: Twenty-seven other deputies, including Alvarez del Vayo and some members of the Negrín Cabinet, are at present in Mexico but have abstained from taking part because of "the non-presence of the government." The most dominant figure is therefore, paradoxically, the absent Premier, Juan Negrín. In spite of being branded as illegal and harmful to the prestige of parliamentary institutions, the Cortes meeting has stressed the widespread desire for unity among Spanish Republicans. Addresses honoring the deputies killed since the beginning of the Spanish war, although made by some speakers who had not distinguished themselves by their previous conciliatory efforts, were in effect appeals for unity, and the presence of two thousand emigrés in the big assembly hall of the Club France emphasized the common desire. Even if Indalecio Prieto has not given up hope of enlarging his Junta de Liberacion, his field of maneuver has become narrower each

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day. Significantly, Juan Antonio Aguirre, head of the Basque autonomous government and a prominent Catholic leader, who is at present in New York, refused to give his name to any junta or government from which Negrín is excluded. The possibility of the creation of a solid Spanish Republican front appears to depend to a large extent on Negrín, and Negrín's presence in Mexico depends on the British government's ending its long delay in granting him proper facilities for leaving London.

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KING PETER OF YUGOSLAVIA, WHO LIVES IN A world of his own, has apparently got the quixotic notion that the divine right of kings still obtains in the modern world. It is the misfortune of Balkan monarchies that they have resisted coming to terms with today's legitimacy, that of the people. Instead they have clung to royal illusions of power which, in Northern Europe, sputtered out early in the nineteenth century. The present war, by its very nature, was bound to bring such monarchies to grief. In the words of President Roosevelt, "Ours is an association not of governments but of peoples." The plight of the royal houses of Albania, Yugoslavia, Greece, and Bulgaria proves that it is the people's will that counts. Zog is a dead letter. The people of Greece, by their heroic resistance, have succeeded in shelving the preposterous George, although the British government persists in ignoring their verdict. Now Peter, not to be so piteously undone, seems determined to tilt the windmills alone. His communiqué of January 11 is an attempt to override the engagements entered into by Dr. Subasich, his Premier. Strange way to insist on his rights as a "constitutional monarch"! One cannot help thinking how Mr. Churchill, Prime Minister in another constitutional monarchy, would react to a comparable interference from the throne. Meanwhile, word comes from Bulgaria that Prince Cyril, brother of the late King Boris and former head of the regency council, has been haled into the Sofia People's Court on charges of atrocities against Partisans and collaboration with the Germans. The hour is striking for monarchs and their defenders.

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ON DECEMBER 5 LAST WINSTON CHURCHILL declared in the House of Commons: "Whether the Greek people form themselves into a monarchy or a republic is for their decision. Whether they form a government of the right or left is for their decision. These are entirely matters for them." How, we wonder, will the British Prime Minister square this declaration of disinterest with the fact that on January 14 General Scobie, commander of British forces in Greece, gave his patronage to a rightist demonstration in Athens by addressing it from a balcony? To a crowd shouting for the return of the King, the general expressed the hope that the gathering "will not be without its effect on world opinion." Unless this grossly improper action is promptly reprimanded by his government, world opinion will pay little further heed to British protestations of neutrality in Greek politics.

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SIR CECIL HURST, BRITISH CHAIRMAN OF THE United Nations War Crimes Commission, has resigned because the British Foreign Office has either ignored or rejected the Commission's proposals for dealing with war criminals. The commission, which represents, it should be remembered, fourteen nations, recommended, unanimously, that international courts be set up for the trial of war criminals, that the heads of states—that is, Hitler, Mussolini, *et al.*—be tried in these courts on the same terms as their minions rather than punished, as Napoleon was, by political decision, and that the Nazis and fascists be punished not only for their crimes against other nations but for the crimes they have committed against their own nationals on the ground of race or religion. The problem is a complicated one, as everybody knows, and there is room for honorable disagreement as to procedure. The disturbing thing is that there seems to be a gentleman in the woodpile; for it appears that the person in the Foreign Office who is handling the question of war crimes—Anthony Eden being too busy—is none other than the arch appeaser, Lord Simon! Members of the War Crimes Commission may be forgiven for suspecting that Lord Simon's past must affect his present attitude. Since Lord Simon is not the only one of his kind in the higher reaches of the British government, people in general may be forgiven for the gloomy suspicion that the farcical war-guilt trials of World War I will be repeated. For our part, we find ourselves thinking of a cartoon in the current *New Yorker*. One gunman is introducing another to the head gangster. "Gus," he says, "I want you to meet a very old accomplice of mine."

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PROSPECTS FOR CORDIAL COOPERATION BETWEEN the Senate and the President have been much improved by an infusion of new blood into the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. Ignoring seniority rules, the majority steering committee named Senators Lucas, Lister Hill, and Hatch to fill the vacancies caused by the forced retirement of Senators Bennet Champ Clark, Gillette, and Reynolds. Pat McCarran of Nevada, a fairly consistent isolationist who was senior to all three, received only one vote. Senator Wheeler withdrew his name when it became clear that he had no chance. Now with the whole majority representation back of the Administration's foreign policy, there is little likelihood that there will be a repetition of the conflict between President Wilson and the Senate Foreign Relations Committee of his day. The Republicans, however, have done their little bit to conserve their isolationist record in choosing Senators Bridges and Wiley to replace Gerald P. Nye and James J. Davies. Bridges, given to somewhat chauvinistic outbursts, has in general gone down the line with the President on foreign policy, but Wiley, who it will be recalled got Governor Dewey's personal indorsement during the campaign, is as case-hardened an isolationist as they come.

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THE NEW CEILING PRICE ON LIVE CATTLE OF $18 a hundredweight represents a substantial victory for the cattle men at the expense of the general public. It is not only well above the current market price but is nearly double the pre-war price. Part of the additional price will be met by increased subsidies; the remainder, apparently, will be provided for by a slight increase in the retail beef ceilings. But although the public will pay more for its meat in 1945 than in 1944, it will share somewhat in the OPA's satisfaction in finally achieving an effective ceiling on live cattle. For under

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the previous arrangement the only way in which the OPA could penalize packers who paid exorbitant prices for beef was through a withdrawal of subsidies. Since the bonus paid by the black market was often greater than the subsidies, a large proportion of the total meat supplies was lost through illegal channels. It is generally agreed that the new regulations, if rigorously enforced, should help curb the black market. Whether the supply of meat available in the urban markets will be appreciably increased is a matter of debate within the meat industry. But the prospects seem favorable. Cattle raisers will get a better price; the packers and retailers will be protected against a "squeeze" between uncontrolled farm prices and fixed retail prices; and black-market operations will more readily be brought under control. It should be recognized, however, that these gains have been won by granting the cattlemen a margin of profit which is completely out of line with the return permitted labor or other business groups under the stabilization policy.

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IT IS A PLEASURE TO REPORT THAT THE North Carolina Supreme Court has averted a scandal. Last July 14 William DeBerry, an organizer for the Food, Tobacco, Agricultural, and Allied Workers of America, C. I. O., was sentenced to sixty days on the road gang by the state Superior Court, on a charge of having assaulted Louise Johnston, a company-union stooge for the R. J. Reynolds Tobacco Company. The prosecution didn't bother to present any evidence to back the charge. It based its argument on the self-evident facts that William DeBerry was a Negro, that Louise Johnston was white, and that the members of the C. I. O. union called each other "brother" and "sister." That was sufficient for the Superior Court. It did not satisfy the Supreme Court, which on January 4 dismissed the charge. But justice for the Negro in the South is still the exceptional thing. On September 3 six white hoodlums kidnapped and raped Mrs. Recy Taylor, a Negress, at Abbeville, Alabama. One of them, Hugo Wilson, confessed and named the others, but the Henry County grand jury refused to indict. On December 8 Governor Sparks promised to investigate, but he has not done anything thus far. A Committee for Equal Justice for Mrs. Recy Taylor has been organized, with members in nineteen states, a few white Southerners among them. It is too bad the Negro can't get justice without the aid of "agitators," Northern and otherwise. It gives the South a bad name.

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THE HOLLYWOOD POST OF THE AMERICAN Legion receives our congratulations on being the first in the nation to welcome a Japanese-American veteran of this war, Harley M. Oka, into its active membership. Its action does something to erase the shame of the Hood River Post's decision to remove from its honor roll of local citizens serving in the armed forces the names of sixteen Japanese Americans. The Pacific Coast on the whole, as Carey McWilliams predicted some weeks ago in these columns, is responding well to the army's order lifting the ban against Japanese Americans returning to the West Coast military area. Recently eighteen Unitarian and Universalist ministers from Washington, Oregon, and California signed a statement expressing the belief that "this order will help win the peace by renewing the confidence of people, here and abroad, white and colored, in American democracy." The statement, making reference to the loyalty of the great majority of Japanese Americans, asserts that "a grave and largely irredeemable injustice has been done to these loyal American citizens and that America owes it to herself, as well as to them, to make such reparations as are possible. The removal of the exclusion order is the first big step in that direction."

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*THE NATION* WELCOMES CAREY McWILLIAMS as a new contributing editor. He will bring to its columns a fresh and discerning appreciation of the battle for a fuller freedom that is being waged by the American people. A courageous fighter against oppression and discrimination in all forms, Carey McWilliams has become the active spokesman of groups in our community who are too often pushed around—migrant workers who follow the crops, Mexicans, Japanese Americans in and out of relocation centers, Negroes in industry and in the army. *The Nation* is honored in having associated with it an intelligent observer and an effective writer whose struggles for justice are stated very much in the present tense.

# *The Vandenberg Plan*

SENATOR VANDENBERG'S proposals for reestablishing Allied unity by American action to free Europe from its fears of a future renewal of German aggression have been favorably received by most of his "internationalist" colleagues and have been accorded a warm welcome in the general press. The fact that they have been bitterly condemned by the *Daily News,* which sees them as a surrender to Roosevelt foreshadowing the final break-up of the G. O. P., is itself something of a commendation. Nevertheless, the Senator's record being what it is, he must not be surprised if the mouth of his gift horse is examined with somewhat suspicious care. The fervent devotion to the Atlantic Charter recently displayed by men who reviled and ridiculed it at the time of its promulgation justifies a search for ulterior motives in their utterances.

After a careful study of the Senator's address, however, we are not inclined to condemn it offhand as, to quote the *Daily Worker,* "a clever maneuver to divide the President's supporters." There are some obvious gaps in his reasoning, some unfortunate obscurities in his language, some evidence of the "American governess" mentality; but his central proposal merits, we believe, serious consideration.

Mr. Vandenberg is concerned over the "unilateral actions" of Moscow and London but realizes that American official silence "has multiplied confusion at home and abroad." If unity is to be restored, he suggests, American faith in the Atlantic Charter must be reaffirmed, but at the same time steps must be taken to remove the sense of insecurity which promotes such unilateral measures to achieve safety from future assault as Russia's effort to surround itself with "unwillingly controlled or partitioned states." The primary problem to be dealt with is "the fear of reborn German ag-

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gression"—a menace which the United States is as interested in scotching as are its Allies.

In order to meet this situation, the Senator proposes the immediate conclusion of a treaty between the major Allies to act together to keep Germany and Japan disarmed. With such a pact in force, the President, as commander-in-chief, could, he points out, move instantly to employ whatever force was necessary in joint action to prevent either of these powers preparing for new aggressions. "Regardless of what our later decision may be in respect to the power that shall be delegated to the President to join our military force with others in a new Peace League, . . . I am sure we can all agree that there should be no limitations when it comes to keeping the Axis out of piracy for keeps." So far, so good. But we are bound to observe that the Senator's proposal requires a good deal of elucidation.

How, for instance, is disarmament to be defined? Some people think that in the case of Germany it should mean permanent loss of control over the heavy industries of the Ruhr. Would Mr. Vandenberg be prepared to have the United States underwrite such a provision? It will be hard to draft a treaty of the kind he proposes until there is basic agreement about the terms to be imposed on the Axis nations. Again, there is the question of what body will decide what constitutes a threat of rearmament and what preventive measures should be applied. Is this authority to be lodged in representatives of the great powers, or is it ultimately to be included among the duties of a permanent international organization?

We think the Big Three at their forthcoming meeting might well put Senator Vandenberg's idea on their agenda, but let no one think such a treaty is a simple matter that can be drawn up in short order. Nor will negotiations be eased by the Senator's suggestion that once this question is settled and unity restored we shall "have the duty and the right to demand that whatever unilateral decisions have to be made in consequence of military need, they shall all be subject to revision in the light of the post-war world. . . ." This sounds like the voice of the governess. If we are to make such demands, we might start by expressing our own willingness to regard any unilateral decisions we may make, in the Pacific for instance, as equally temporary.

Again, the Senator said: "If Dumbarton Oaks should specifically authorize the ultimate international organization to review protested injustices in the peace itself, it would at least partially nullify the argument that we are to be asked to put a blank-check warrant behind a future status quo which is unknown to us." We agree that an international organization should have this authority; more than that, it should have power to pass on questions of injustice arising *after* the peace. But to exercise such authority effectively, the decisions of the organization cannot be subject to the veto of any great power, and all members must be willing to subordinate their national sovereignties. Are the Senator and his party now ready to accept this inescapable condition of a real international order?

IN NEXT WEEK'S *NATION*

*Dorothy Jones of Hollywood resumes the series Tomorrow the Movies with Hollywood Goes to War.*

# *Monopoly in a Glass Bottle*

THE Hartford Empire Glass monopoly case was argued before the United States Supreme Court in November of 1943 and reargued in January of 1944. Now, a year later, the court has finally handed down its decision. Three justices —Murphy, Jackson, and Douglas—took no part in deciding the case, because the first two had been with the Department of Justice during its inception and Douglas was on the Temporary National Economic Committee when it investigated Hartford Empire. Two justices, Black and Rutledge, wrote separate opinions, differing sharply with the majority of four. This majority decision is a triumph of narrow legalism over good sense, an extraordinary piece of judicial stultification. It was written by Justice Roberts and joined in by Chief Justice Stone and Justices Frankfurter and Reed. It is a blow to effective anti-trust enforcement and a disgrace to the supposedly liberal justices who participated in it.

That such a decision should come from Justice Roberts is not surprising; he is a corporation lawyer by training, and his outlook is in accordance with his past. But Reed was a New Deal appointee. Stone wrote the decision in the Morton Salt case, which seemed to promise a new and realistic judicial attitude toward the monopolistic abuse of the patent privilege. Frankfurter has gone out of his way not to interfere with the findings of administrative bodies in regulatory and tax matters. Here, in a highly complicated anti-trust case analogous to an administrative procedure, we find him substituting his own judgment for that of the trial court. The four did, indeed, uphold the decision that the Hartford Empire Company and its associates had engaged in a monopolistic conspiracy which violated the Sherman and Clayton acts. They could hardly have done otherwise. The glass industry has long been recognized as a classic example of a patent monopoly. The evidence of the conspiracy was not circumstantial but direct and ample. "It is hard to imagine a case," Judge Frank L. Kloeb of Ohio said in his courageous District Court decision, "in which a court would have more first-hand information of what the parties did and intended than in the case at bar." The Supreme Court majority of four upheld Judge Kloeb's findings and then proceeded to emasculate the decree by which he sought to end the conspiracy. The participants are condemned for conspiracy by the Supreme Court but reinstated in the possession of its fruits.

The majority's dry and chaste recital of the bare legal facts provides an inadequate conception of the conspiracy's robust flavor. An incident recited in the District Court decision may give readers some idea of the kind of men and companies who were before the court. They had a competitor in the manufacture of one type of glass-making equipment. In 1928 they suggested that the competitor get together with them, raise his price from $9,500 to $13,500 per machine—and pay the $4,000 difference to Hartford Empire. "Now, boys," the competing firm was told, "we have made you a good proposition. . . . We will give you a month to think it over. . . . If you do not go in with us, you are going to be sued, and continue to be sued until you are out of business." When the competing firm declined to go along, a suit for patent infringement was brought under circumstances which pre-

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vented any adequate defense from being made. The suit was won and the competing firm eliminated. On one occasion, according to the complaint in the case, "the defendants Hartford and Owens at night cut a hole in the roof of the building" of a competing firm and entered the premises in order to inspect its machinery. It is not strange that the trial judge wondered why the Department of Justice limited itself in this case to a civil action, and said, "This court has not been apprised of the reason for no criminal prosecution. This unanswered question rests on the doorstep of the Department of Justice."

The heart of the glass monopoly was Hartford Empire, a patent-holding company. The government asked its dissolution; the lower court ordered a receivership instead. The Supreme Court orders the business returned to Hartford Empire. The heart of the monopoly was the leasing of glass-making machinery under restrictive provisions. The District Court ordered that in the future all such machinery be sold outright instead of leased. This was overruled by the Supreme Court. The District Court ordered the patents in this conspiracy to be made freely available without royalty payments. The Supreme Court not only modified the decree to permit collection of "reasonable royalties" but limited the machinery items on which licenses had to be granted even at reasonable royalties. These are but a few of the changes made by the Supreme Court to weaken the decree. Justice Black protested that the decree as modified left the conspirators "free, in a large measure, to continue to follow the competition-destroying methods by which they achieved control of the industry." Justice Rutledge said, "To permit these patents to remain in the guilty hands . . . not only does not deprive their owners of the fruits of their misconduct. Rather it secures to them its continued benefits."

# *The Budget Message*

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT'S fourth war-time budget contained few surprises in its estimates of financial requirements for the 1945-46 fiscal year. Since our fighting services are now fully equipped and only slight expansion is foreseen in the number of men in service, the estimated outlay for war purposes is somewhat less than it was in the current year. But while the figure for probable war expenditures has been cut from $89 billion to $70 billion, "non-war" expenditures—including pensions, interest on the public debt, and tax refunds—will increase by more than $2 billion as a direct result of the war. Thus total expenditures will probably be around $83 billion, as against $99 billion during the present year.

The really significant part of the President's message, however, was the closing section, in which he set forth the Administration's views regarding post-war fiscal policy. Here, even more clearly than in his campaign addresses, Mr. Roosevelt developed the principles of a program for full employment after the war. "Full employment," he declared, "is not only a matter of immediate self-interest but also part of our stake in world stability and prosperity." To this end he indicated that the government should be prepared to spend enough in the post-war period to maintain consumer buying power at a level that will assure 60,000,000 jobs. And as a means of supporting the buying power of the public and at the same time maintaining "a policy of orderly but steady debt reduction" he suggested "the use of progressive taxes for the redemption of bonds held by millions of individual savers." As a corollary, he opposed the retention of "high taxes on the masses of consumers for general reduction of debt held by financial institutions" on the ground that such a policy would destroy purchasing power and create unemployment.

By thus coming out unequivocally for a program of maintaining full employment by the support of purchasing power, Mr. Roosevelt has focused attention sharply on the main issue in post-war policy. The conservative press has not been slow to indicate its disapproval of this section of the President's message. The essential issue, of course, is post-war tax policy. While the President wants a reduction in the taxes on the masses and would maintain fairly steep progressive taxes on corporations and the well-to-do, many Republicans, backed by large business interests and a substantial section of the press, have been urging the elimination of the corporation tax and a sharp reduction in the income tax as a means of encouraging enterprise to provide jobs. Since these same groups also want to see a rapid reduction in the national debt, they are inclined to oppose any reduction in the taxes on the low-income brackets and to support proposals for a sales tax or any levy which will take the burden off the well-to-do.

Obviously, these two conflicting theories for supporting post-war employment cannot be equally sound. And the question is far too important to be left to political pressures and party politics. Mr. Roosevelt's program is squarely based on the best economic authority available. It is entirely consistent with the economic doctrines of the distinguished British economist Lord Keynes and is designed to meet the flaws in American economic policy as set forth in the studies of wealth and income by the Brookings Institution. But the most compelling argument supporting Mr. Roosevelt's program as against that of his opponents is to be found in the history of the 1920's. The post-war policies of the Harding and Coolidge Administrations were almost identical with those now being urged by the Republicans and big business. The government debt was reduced rapidly, taxes on the well-to-do were cut sharply, business was stimulated, and the country had a period of unparalleled business confidence. But the final result, owing to the extreme dislocation of purchasing power, was the unprecedented economic collapse of the 1930's. As Mr. Hutchison points out elsewhere in this issue, British reluctance to join the United States in a coordinated program to stimulate world trade and a sound international economic policy grows out of the fear that we shall follow the same path as in the 1920's, thus bringing disaster not only to ourselves but to any country that is closely associated with us. The President's message is reassuring on this point, and should help mend the rift which has recently developed in Anglo-American relations. But the President will need the support of every forward-looking American citizen if he is to bring his program to fruition against the powerful opposition which is already forming.

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# *The War Fronts*

BY CHARLES G. BOLTE

THE landing on Luzon came as great good news to all Americans. There is no use deceiving ourselves about so fundamental a phenomenon as this: no matter what we thought about MacArthur—and many of us thought plenty—it was a thrill to hear that he was back. Psychologically, the Leyte landings never seemed quite like the real Philippines thing, although doubtless it would be hard to impress this on the minds of the American troops who fought there—one of them who was wounded wrote me without false gaiety that he was "about to start walking on a pair of G. I. legs."

Luzon, as the island of Manila, of Bataan, and of Corregidor, has a very special place in the story of the war, that story which is as much human as it is strategic or tactical. The road back has been incredibly long and difficult, from Tarawa in the Central Pacific fourteen months ago and from Guadalcanal in the Southwest Pacific twenty-nine months ago. The landings on Luzon are in a very real sense the culmination of what has gone before: the Owen Stanley Mountains, Salamaua, Lae, the Admiralties, Aitape, Hollandia, the Schouten Islands, Sansapor, Morotai for MacArthur's men; New Georgia, Bougainville, Santa Isabel, the Green Islands for Halsey's old South Pacific Command; Kwajalein, Eniwetok, Saipan, Tinian, Guam, Palau for Nimitz's Central Command and especially for the Marine Corps. The two great lines of force, MacArthur's and Nimitz's, converged in Leyte Gulf three months ago. There finally the American commanders in the Pacific were able to use on a large scale the fundamental strategic principle of concentration, and applied superior force on a relatively narrow front.

The lesson of Leyte has obviously been taken to heart, and there is no disposition to consider the Luzon campaign finished with the landing. We know now that these amphibious battles only begin when the troops are ashore. The Japanese have devised, through trial and error, what is probably the most effective defense against amphibious operations, in spite of their relatively limited resources in man-power and material. One cannot guard every inch of every island of a far-flung empire. So the Japanese high command tries to guess where the Americans will land and to guard those threatened shores; but it keeps a mobile force to meet us wherever we do land, because it has at least learned that American commanders, like good baseball players, hit 'em where they ain't.

Consequently recent Pacific operations have developed into a series of races: the Japanese racing to knock us back into the water before we are firmly established ashore, we racing to get established before the Japanese catch us with one foot on shore and one in the water. (The Japanese fleet would have caught us in just that position on Leyte had it not been for the brilliant intervention by the United States Seventh and Third fleets.) The same kind of race is now developing on Luzon. Again it is most likely that the Japanese will lose; but Luzon will see some bitter, bloody battles before they have finally lost.

It is likely that the Japanese will lose, not because Americans always lick Japanese or have better blood, but because in this case as in others they have superior power, superior dispositions of that power, and superior plans for its employment. The entire remaining strength of the Japanese fleet is probably not a match for the United States Seventh Fleet, which is in immediate support of the landing forces, and is certainly not a match for the Third Fleet, cruising somewhere to the northwest between Luzon and the Formosa-Ryukyu area. If the Japanese fleet offers battle, it will probably meet another defeat on a scale with that of the Second Battle of the Philippines in October, and this may well mean the end of the Japanese fleet as an effective naval force. Japanese air power has already suffered badly in the preparatory phases of the landings—a new twist to the artillery barrage of the last war, with the artillery in this case mounted on wings which take off from easily movable floating airfields. It will assuredly suffer even more as the Luzon campaign continues: reinforcement squadrons staging down from the home islands will run the gauntlet of the Third Fleet's carrier-based planes, now ranging out beyond the big airfields of Formosa to the China coast; planes remaining on Luzon when we landed, probably not more than 200, will be attacked at their bases by fighters from Mindoro, bombers from Leyte and the Palaus. Japanese ground forces on Luzon, stationed mostly in the south to guard against landings from Mindoro, will be strafed and bombed from the air as they move up to Lingayen; if they move up too rapidly, MacArthur may land in the south, or around in the west above the neck of the Bataan peninsula. Finally, the enemy will certainly make a large-scale attempt to bring in troop reinforcements, which will either be destroyed at sea by small-boat and air attack or will be killed or starved on Luzon after they have landed.

The pattern of Leyte may thus repeat itself, with variations —and this even though the enemy well knows how heavy his losses were on Leyte. Yet he can do no other. Strategic and psychological considerations too strongly demand the retention of the Philippines for him to pull out or even to attempt to cut his losses. The establishment of American air and sea forces on Luzon means very nearly the end of Japanese traffic to the East Indies and southeastern Asia, which means the end of rich war imports as well as of supplies and reinforcements for the island garrisons. It means that Formosa, keystone of the whole island empire, is directly threatened with the inevitable next amphibious step; beyond Formosa lies the Chinese coast. This in turn will necessitate renewed Japanese efforts to get traffic moving on the overland route from Manchuria to Indo-China in order to bring home

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the resources of Malaya and the Indies and to supply the dwindling Burmese force now blocking the Allies' India-China routes.

As for the psychological-political considerations, their weight has already been made apparent on the other side of the world, where the Germans have suffered from trying to maintain impossible military positions. For the Japanese such considerations are peculiarly potent owing to their need to save face and maintain the myth that theirs is a war of the dark skins against the white skins—a myth made extremely difficult to sustain by the large contribution of Filipino resistance forces to their country's liberation.

So, in spite of all drawbacks, the Japanese must fight hard for Luzon; and consequently, in spite of all advantages, the Allies must also fight hard. The result is inevitable, though uncertain as to date. Then, Luzon and the Philippines won, the Allies can get down to the serious business of the Pacific war—attacking Japan's true inner fortresses of strength.

# *Behind the Labor Shortage*

BY I. F. STONE

*Washington, January 15*

THE war-production program has been a succession of critical shortages. We no sooner solve one than others make an appearance. The earliest were shortages in basic materials. The current ones are due to new and increased needs developed in battle. The most authoritative survey of these shortages was supplied last December 7 in a report on Critical Programs by Hiland G. Batcheller, chief of operations at the War Production Board. The facts presented in this report may serve to counteract some of the hysteria generated and the distortions spread by the current debate over national service. Mr. Batcheller reported that 40 per cent of the war-production program was behind schedule and that 40 per cent of the total of current critical shortages was due to a sudden increase in requirements for certain weapons and materials, 26 per cent to changes in the design or model of military weapons, 22 per cent to labor shortages, and 12 per cent to the need for new productive facilities.

There have been shortages of ammunition and supplies at the front, but these have not been due to lags in output at home. The authority for this statement is the report made to Congress by War Mobilization Director James F. Byrnes on December 30. Supply difficulties on the western front, according to the statement made on December 16 by Senator Mead, cannot be blamed on labor. "To date," Mead said, "the problem has been one of transporting supplies from shipboard and from the Normandy beaches." This does not mean that labor can afford to be complacent. New draft and production requirements will strain our industrial system to its utmost in coming months, and adequate steps must be taken to meet increased demands on machine and man-power.

The debate on national service has oversimplified the problem. To put the question as a choice between drafting or not drafting labor is to create the impression that somehow labor is at fault in these critical shortages. Actually they derive from two sources. The first is military misjudgment. Some programs have had to be sharply accelerated because military leadership was too optimistic. In some cases there was lack of experience; artillery and shell programs went up sharply after troops began to land and really fight abroad. In the case of the tank program, steadily whittled down and now suddenly increased, there was an unwillingness to learn from Russian experience and a silly disparagement of the tank. Similarly there was a tardy recognition of the value of such new devices as the rocket and the jet-propulsion engine. And over all has hung the misguided feeling, yet to be completely dissipated, that victory could be won by air power. These factors of military misjudgment are reflected not only in such critical programs as rockets, heavy artillery, and tanks, but even in so "civilian" an item as cotton duck. Cotton-duck requirements were cut sharply by the military after the winter of 1942-43; low-wage textile labor shifted to better-paying war industries; now requirements have been boosted again. The shortage of rockets, tanks, and cotton duck obviously involves more than a mere labor shortage; new facilities, design, and engineering, as well as labor recruiting, are necessary. These items cannot be obtained merely by turning the faucet of a controlled labor supply.

The second source of critical shortages also lies in a situation more complex than a simple scarcity of labor. We are operating our economy at pretty close to full capacity, and tight situations cannot be corrected by general formulas. "The immediate task," Mr. Batcheller reported, "is to tackle each of the critical programs on a 'spot' basis. Wherever we know of lagging plants we must send in practical production specialists, not general practitioners, to determine the facts, the causes, and the probable cures of production troubles." Every local situation is different. Here a shortage of labor may be due to a lack of day nurseries for working mothers; there the need may be for more buses to serve commuting workers. One tight spot may be eased by wider subcontracting; another, by shutting down some non-essential plant; a third, by tranferring some contracts to another area. A cost-plus contract may have encouraged the hoarding of labor. The problems are problems of wise planning, of careful attention to detail, not simply of "labor shortages." This is what Baruch meant when he said in his report on the West Coast man-power situation in 1943, "Man-power problems cannot be solved by thinking solely in terms of labor controls. Control over production is equally important. The fundamental objective of any sound man-power program must be to bring production demands and labor supply into balance."

It is the failure to achieve this balance which accounts for many of our man-power difficulties, and this balance will not

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automatically be attained by passing a national-service statute. "There should be better coordination," Mr. Batcheller hinted tactfully, "between the War Production Board, the War Manpower Commission, and the services on contract run-outs or cutbacks and new contract placements. A much better job needs to be done in diverting released facilities and labor into critical plants." What he means is that army-navy procurement is still placing and canceling too many contracts without regard to the availability of facilities and man-power. The first essential is coordination of procurement services with the War Production Board and the War Manpower Commission to see that, wherever possible, cancelations are made in tight labor areas and new contracts put into loose labor areas. The military are still too uncooperative.

Liberals and labor leaders will prove badly mistaken however, if they assume that the coordination of war-production and man-power agencies will be sufficient to meet the problems which lie ahead of us. Greater control of labor will prove necessary. But it is not generally understood that greater control of labor is intimately bound up with greater control of management. The War Manpower Commission today operates a system of employment ceilings, labor priorities, and referrals to make labor available where it is most needed. But while the WMC has sufficient power today to deprive a worker of his livelihood in a critical labor area if he declines to work where he is assigned, it has no power to enforce employment ceilings against employers who choose to ignore them. The War Manpower Commission also has no power to send its labor-utilization inspectors into plants without permission of the management. These inspectors are our principal weapon against the hoarding and waste of labor. Whether we have national service or not, the War Manpower Commission or some other agency will have to be given power by Congress to enforce its labor priorities and labor-inspection system by adequate penalties against both the recalcitrant worker and the recalcitrant management.

An incident from the last annual report of the Truman committee illustrates how widely the efficient mobilization of man-power differs from the mere issuance of orders compelling a requisite number of workers to report for duty—or else. Dallas, Texas, had been declared a critical labor area in 1943 solely because of new labor requirements at the North American Aviation plant there. A subcommittee investigated and held hearings in Dallas. "The testimony established," the Truman committee reported, "that North American was not efficiently utilizing the 36,000 workers which it then had and that it could not usefully employ the additional 13,000 workers that it was requesting." A transcript was sent to the War Production Board. Charles E. Wilson, then vice-chairman, after conferences with Army Air Forces, decided that North American's peak requirements could safely be reduced by 10,000, and that no new employees would have to be hired until the next year. The result was to take Dallas out of the critical-labor-area classification and free labor in it for other war work.

Labor leaders are a good deal more aware of these facts than the War and Navy departments seem to be. Labor would be wise to avoid a hysterical debate over national service and suggest instead legislation to give the War Manpower Commission compulsory power to enforce and expand its system of labor priorities and inspection. The WMC is already a going concern; its local labor-management committees are far better informed on industrial problems than Selective Service boards. Selective Service did a poor job on occupational deferments; it would do a worse one on administering labor controls. The WMC could go into action at once. Better coordination of war agencies in Washington plus strengthened WMC committees in the field would go a long way toward easing current shortages. And the combination would provide the only framework in which an over-all national-service act could operate efficiently and fairly.

## *75 Years Ago in "The Nation"*

THE NEW PRESIDENT'S [Grant's] anxiety to keep the peace was notorious, and has weighed heavily in his course of administration. He has already yielded much—too much—to the legislature, and he seems likely to go on until there is nothing left for him to yield.—*January 6, 1870.*

CONGRESS REASSEMBLED on Monday, and the principal business of both houses was the readmission of Virginia. . . . On Tuesday the debates were continued, without result.—*January 13, 1870.*

A MUSEUM OF THE FINE ARTS for New York. Whether the right moment has arrived to establish one will depend upon the amount of real desire for it that may be found in the community. . . . On the 23d of last November, a meeting was held in the theatre of the Union League Club to consider the question. . . . At this meeting, after speeches and resolutions, a committee of fifty gentlemen were elected to provide for carrying into effect the object of the meeting. . . . These facts appear from a pamphlet which has reached us entitled "A Metropolitan Art Museum." . . . It seems . . . that some members of the committee hope for the aid of the state or of the city. . . . But if this action of the state cannot be brought about . . . it is then to be considered whether the community includes such persons who, being both interested in the cause and able to advance it, may have aggregate power enough to establish a museum of art.—*January 13, 1870.*

THE VIRGINIA CASE is causing no small bitterness and excitement in Congress.—*January 20, 1870.*

THE FIFTEENTH AMENDMENT gets on. Rhode Island, Minnesota, and Mississippi have ratified it during the week, along with Kansas; and Ohio has made a beginning with its Senate. The need of it is nowhere more strikingly shown than in the Democratic proposition before the Illinois Constitutional Convention, to insert "white" in the new instrument.—*January 20, 1870.*

MISSISSIPPI, A STATE where hitherto, from the days when its bottom lands were first settled, down to the days of General Gillem, the Negro has been of as little importance as anywhere else in the world outside of a slaver, has just sent to Washington the first colored United States Senator. He is a Mr. Revels, a mulatto, who is said to be a man of good character and fair ability.—*January 27, 1870.*

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# Lion Bites Eagle

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

WHEN the American eagle twists the British lion's tail, it's not news, but when lion bites eagle, the cables burn and the headlines crackle. Over here, the anti-British diatribes of a minority of publishers, radio commentators, and politicians have long been accepted as one of the more unpleasant facts of life; their daily damnable variations on the theme of perfidious Albion merely bore us. And as the British seldom retorted in kind, we have been apt to conclude that they were equally indifferent. This, however, is not so. A fair percentage of the dirty cracks of McCormick *et al.* are reported in the British press; still more become known to influential circles through the Ministry of Information's daily summary of the American press. If the soreness thus inevitably created has not hitherto found much public expression, it is partly because of official discouragement of criticisms of the United States.

To my mind, that policy has been a mistake; plain speaking at an earlier stage could have been accomplished with better temper. Now it is loaded with a weight of accumulated resentment which makes for an exaggeration of grievances. And the American public, totally unprepared for such an outburst, in turn feels both bewildered and hurt by a bite which makes no very careful distinction between the internationalist and the isolationist wings of the eagle.

No observer who had recently been in England could, however, have been very much surprised at the outburst touched off by the *Economist*. When I was in London last fall it was clear that irritation at American attacks on Britain was combining with fears about future American economic and political policies to produce an explosive mixture that was bound to detonate sooner or later. In my diary for November 10 I find this record of a conversation with a liberal editor:

> X thinks that the British government has been over-anxious to appease American opinion and has been too ready to assume that British opinion will remain well-disciplined and docile. But too many concessions to America were liable to cause a sudden explosion here. The British public refused to accept the view that this country had to show a humble gratitude to the United States on account of Lend-Lease. They accepted the clause in the Lend-Lease Act which said that it was designed for the defense of the United States quite literally. That was exactly what Lend-Lease had accomplished, and, on balance, taking into account the part Britain had played in the war, it was felt that America was at least as much debtor as creditor. Talk of this kind is common enough here though it finds little expression in print. Of course, it is stimulated by the Chicago *Tribune's* nationalistic boasting and everlasting gibes at Britain. I am afraid that a lot of resentment is being stored up which will surprise and shock America if it ever bursts forth.

It must be acknowledged that the malevolence of the isolationist press is not the only cause of irritation. Most well-informed Englishmen have learned to discount this to some extent and find it easier to bear than what is felt to be the common tendency of Americans to preach a higher form of international morality than they are prepared to practice. No doubt this is a case of the pot calling the kettle black; in the eyes of the rest of the world, hypocrisy is a characteristic of both English-speaking peoples. Similarly, another American trait which annoys the British—the tendency to regard as altruistic, actions which in fact are prompted by the instinct of self-preservation—is common enough among the British themselves. It might be much better if both nations acknowledged that their primary purpose in fighting the war was to achieve survival, and harped less on their noble motives.

The real difference between the two countries is that while both are confident of victory they are not equally confident of survival. Beneath Britain's surface irritability is a deep-rooted fear about its post-war future, about its ability to maintain itself as a first-class nation. One important ingredient in this fear is uncertainty about future American political and economic policies. Will attempts to organize a world system of collective security be wrecked once again in the United States Senate? Is America determined to yield no jot or tittle of its sovereignty? Is America willing to play a full and responsible part in the reorganization of Europe? These are questions I was asked constantly during my recent visit to England.

The fact that no one can, at present, give unequivocal answers forces Mr. Churchill's domestic critics to fight him with one arm tied. If there is to be no reliable system of international security, it is difficult to attack attempts to provide for national security on traditional lines. The British feel they came within a hair's breadth of losing the war in the Mediterranean, and until the danger of another war is eliminated, the principle of strengthening British influence in the region of the Suez Canal is not easy to assail, though it is possible to castigate Mr. Churchill's peculiar methods of making friends.

But, as the London *Times* has pointed out, such unilateral measures to achieve security set up a vicious circle. "American censure untempered by American proposals for constructive action encourages belief on this side of the Atlantic in an ingrained American unwillingness to accept political responsibilities in Europe. European nations, feeling more and more convinced that they will be thrown back on European resources for the upholding of their future security, take steps which still further alienate American opinion."

A similar reaction is to be observed in the economic field as the result of fears that America's enormous productive capacity may be used in such a way as to hinder rather than help the economic reconstruction of Europe. Having liquidated a large part of the assets on which it depended to compensate for its adverse balance of trade, Britain is faced with the necessity of greatly expanding its exports in order to pay

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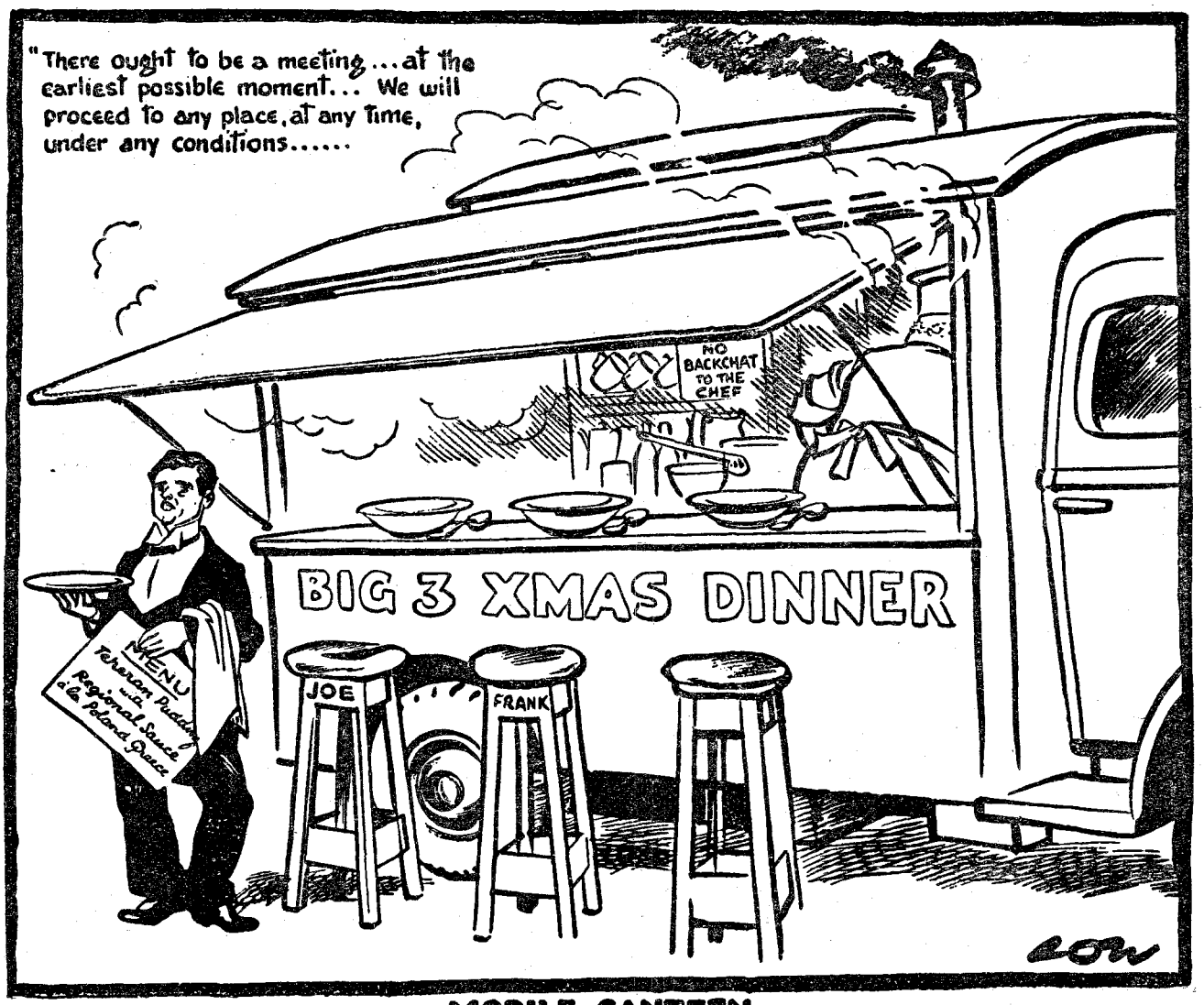
for the minimum of imports without which its standard of living must decline. Consequently, Britons are alarmed when they hear much of American plans to multiply foreign sales and little or nothing about measures to achieve a corresponding increase in American purchases from abroad. They are still further alarmed by indications of American determination to dominate the world's airways and to maintain a much larger merchant marine than before the war. In the British view all this spells an attempt to export America's unemployment problem, and while in the long run they don't believe it will be successful, in the short run they see it as ruinous to their own trade.

Fears of this kind have been heightened by war-time experience. While British exports, excluding government shipments of war supplies to other United Nations, have dropped to 50 per cent by value and 30 per cent by volume of their pre-war level, it is noted that United States exports, apart from Lend-Lease, have been fully maintained. The result is complaints that American traders are horning in on British markets. The clause in the original Lend-Lease agreement, recently modified, which prevented Britain from exporting goods embodying Lend-Lease materials, or similar materials derived from domestic sources, has in these circumstances been felt to be an unfair handicap, particularly as it did not apply to materials supplied to the United States under reverse Lend-Lease.

The British government is committed to the post-war international economic policy indicated in the Atlantic Charter —a policy of razing barriers of all kinds which hinder international trade; and in this it has the official backing of the three political parties of which it is composed. But there is rather widespread support for a very different program which would involve the creation of a closed sterling area and the negotiation of bilateral trade agreements with those countries which depend on the British market. Usually such proposals are advocated as a *pis aller*—an alternative to a genuine American contribution to the freeing of world trade. But they have an appeal on their own merits to business men who dislike competition in general and fear American competition in particular. They have also found favor among a school of left-wingers who believe that any attempt to reestablish and enlarge multilateral trade will be on American terms. This, they argue, will mean that Britain's economy will be tied to that of America and that plans for British full employment will be at the mercy of the erratic swings of American private-enterprise economy.

These are some of the fears that haunt Britain's visions of the future. We may think them exaggerated; we may think


"There ought to be a meeting ... at the earliest possible moment... We will proceed to any place, at any time, under any conditions.....
NO BACKCHAT TO THE CHEF
BIG 3 XMAS DINNER
MENU
Teheran Pudding
Regional Sauce
a la Poland Sauce
JOE
FRANK
LOW

MOBILE CANTEEN

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they ascribe to the United States a responsibility which at the very least should be distributed equally among the Big Three. But let us not dismiss these fears as baseless. Britain, as a world power, will end the war relatively weakened, while America, actually, and Russia, potentially, will have greatly increased their strength. And, in particular, Britain's economic position will have been seriously undermined. It is important that these facts should be brought into the open and their implications understood. If the recent outburst of plain speaking helps to bring about this end, it will have a value outlasting any ill effects arising from its bad-tempered tone.

# *China Sets the Clock Back**

CHINESE education since the end of the Manchu dynasty in 1905, when the old examination system was abolished and modern schools were established, has in general followed the world trend. In accordance with the people's desires, the tendency has been to discard feudalism and to strive for democracy. This development was hastened after the "May 4" or "New Culture" movement of 1919, but it has not proceeded without fluctuations. Even after the establishment of the Republic in 1911 and after the May 4 movement was inaugurated, the "Back-to-Ancient-Days" movement appeared in several provinces—in Shantung, for instance, under War Lord Chang Chung-chang, in Kwangtung under War Lord Lung Tsi-kwan, and in Hunan under War Lord Ho Chien. Only during the last six or seven years, however, has this movement been promoted in a well-planned fascist manner and on a national scale. It has three main aspects:

1. *Respect for Confucianism.* The movement is not an objective study of the philosophy of Confucius but an effort to present him as "the great teacher throughout the ages," and thereby "strengthen the self-confidence of China." It utilizes the Confucian emphasis on the monarchical system, the rule of the aristocracy, absolutism, subservience, and contempt for the laborer in order to maintain the corrupt feudalism of China—to help the privileged class to dominate the people, to help the ruler to train obedient people, and to prevent creative thinking and the application of scientific theories and methods. No one dares openly to oppose science and scientific education in this twentieth century, but "smart" people can arrange that only the technique of science shall be appropriated.

Feudal thinking, reinforced by a highly developed scientific technique, becomes fascism of the German, Italian, and Japanese type. The equivalent in China is the theory of "Chinese culture as the foundation, Western culture as the method." This was a popular slogan of the imperial house during the last decades of the Manchu dynasty, and it is again being emphasized by Chinese educational authorities. In his "Principle of National Independence" Dr. Sun Yat-sen speaks of "strengthening China's national self-confidence," and this part-thought from Dr. Sun's democratic doctrine is misinterpreted as belonging to feudalistic Confucian philosophy.

Chinese culture has splendid aspects not found in other cultures. The philosophy of Confucius has a special profundity which is not shared by other philosophies. This only means, however, that we Chinese have a history and a culture well worth studying. We should extract the finest things from it and combine them with the finest achievements of other cultures, thus creating a richer and higher culture in which social evolution will be facilitated; merely to revive our old traditions and the old Confucianism is very dangerous. In order to prolong the days of their rule the Manchus tried the latter method. Today some people are again advocating it. Dr. Sun Yat-sen did not urge the people to "respect Confucianism" or designate Confucius the "teacher throughout the ages." His "principle of national independence" is progressive and democratic. Unfortunately, the Nanking puppet regime is not the only group that wants to misinterpret it. For more than two thousand years emperors in China used Confucianism to keep the people in subjection, and today, thirty-three years after China became a republic, there are still some people who want to make use of Confucius for their own ends.

2. *Control of Thought.* The same people say that liberalism and socialism are the two poisons in modern thought. China's thoughts, they say, must be unified, and only "one principle" is to be allowed—that embodied in Dr. Sun's "three people's principles," or, as they interpret it, Confucianism, especially its political and ethical doctrines. All other thoughts must be purged. (Even Dr. Sun's own progressive interpretation is not allowed.) They attempt to unify China's thoughts in the following ways:

All publications and cultural activities are strictly censored, according to the governmental unified standard mentioned above.

Students of all grades are given a "thought-unifying" examination before entering schools or colleges.

For schools and colleges of all grades the Ministry of Education has introduced a "unified" curriculum and has issued or specified textbooks; even reference books are specified and limited by the Ministry of Education.

"Indoctrination" has been adopted as the standard method of teaching. Class hours have been increased to thirty or forty a week so that students will have no time for problems outside their textbooks.

Confucian ethical doctrine, as written by Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, has been adopted as the "unified" instruction in all schools and colleges throughout the nation.

The former educational purpose of "training people to be the leaders of the nation" has been replaced by the rules of conduct of the Kuomintang Party, one of which is, "Obedi-

* This article was written in China by a Chinese scholar and brought to this country by a friend of his.

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ence is the basic spirit of responsibility . . . the people must obey absolutely the orders of the government and the commands of the Leader."

All teachers are examined according to the "unified standard." The deans in charge of the conduct and thoughts of students, military-training instructors, and Scout leaders are appointed by the Ministry of Education and constantly under its supervision.

The present national examination system is as "thought-unifying" and "thought-limiting" as the Manchu system, under which, to pass the examination, it was necessary to write an essay in a traditionalized mechanical form that confined all expression of thought.

3. *Gestapo-ruled Schools.* All student self-government organizations have been abolished and have been replaced by the activities of the San Min Chu I Youth Corps, under the direction of the Kuomintang. Agents of the so-called "Special Service" are planted among the students and teachers, whose activities and thoughts are thus kept under close watch. If these agents report that a student or a teacher possesses "impure thoughts," his position and even his life are immediately endangered. (In Hunan University alone more than fifty students and teachers have been arrested because of "thought problems," and their whereabouts are still unknown today.) During the war most of the students and faculty members have lost contact with their homes, and their livelihood depends entirely on government subsidies. If they lose their scholarships or positions, they face immediate starvation.

Members of the "Special Service" are recruited either from the Kuomintang Party or the San Min Chu I Youth Corps. Some are induced to enter it by a special subsidy or offer of a high position; some are forced into the "Service." To all appearances, they are teachers, students, or members of the administrative staff. They usually cluster around the dean and the military-training instructors, who have received special training in the Kuomintang and San Min Chu I Youth Corps. They use all kinds of methods to gain their ends. The range and direction of their activities are based on a program secretly adopted by the Kuomintang, entitled "A Program for the Restriction and Surveillance of the Activities of Parties Other than the Kuomintang."

In the schools, therefore, no one dares discuss national or international affairs with anyone else. Students and teachers suspect each other, hate each other, and deceive each other; all live in fear. In every weekly convocation the dean or the military-training instructor speaks on *Li I Lien Chi* (rules of behavior, righteousness, honesty, and modesty) and on the virtues of the Generalissimo. But everyone knows that they are only putting on an act. The words they speak are not from the heart, and courtesy, righteousness, honesty, and modesty have long ago been swept overboard. This sort of "public deception" has become characteristic of all schools. On the surface, therefore, everything is very quiet. (If there are conflicts, they are caused by personal disputes between the dean and the military instructor, who use the students for their own purposes.)

These three aspects of the Back-to-Ancient-Days movement—"Respect Confucianism," thought control, and Gestapo-ruled schools—are inseparable. They represent a strongly reactionary policy in Chinese education. In its nature it is the same slave-education policy that the Japanese militarists are pursuing in occupied China. This educational policy is in effect wherever the authority of the Ministry of Education prevails. It is most thoroughly in effect, therefore, in Chungking and Sian, less so in Kunming and Kweilin. That is why teachers and students of the southern provinces prefer to work or study in Kunming. To extend its jurisdiction the Ministry of Education has changed many private colleges into national colleges and is creating many large national high schools.

This type of education has been promoted in China for several years now. Has it reached its goal of training youth to be slaves? On the surface it might appear to have succeeded, but it has encountered some basic difficulties. The reasons why it cannot accomplish its purpose are as follows: (1) The historical development and social conditions of China pointed the way to democracy. (2) Dr. Sun Yat-sen established the Republic of China on the basis of democracy. (3) Chinese education was baptized in scientific and democratic thinking by the "May 4" movement. (4) Many Chinese educators received a liberal education in America and in England; many have been influenced by liberal educators like John Dewey, Bertrand Russell, and William H. Kilpatrick. (5) Having resisted the Japanese for years, the Chinese people want a democratic China. (6) The world trend is toward democracy. (7) The authority of the Ministry of Education cannot reach the whole country, and those youths who are under its influence, though they dare not speak up, know what is what. Of course, innocent children are the ones who are most seriously affected.

Future historians will call this period the Dark Age of Chinese education. The present system is dragging China toward darkness and backwardness. The most heart-breaking thing is that education is not fulfilling its true function of promoting resistance and reconstruction, but is slowing down our war against the invader and the process of democratizing China.

## Fashion

*(In appreciation of Kay Boyle's Battle of the Sequins in* The Nation *of December 23)*

Dirt and blood
Make a peculiar mud.

Mix warm blood
With foreign dirt,
Mold it into a sequined shirt;
Use a small batch
For a hat to match.

There's plenty of dirt;
We're giving the blood.
You needn't worry about supplies.
When the blood is gone,
And each of us dies,
Place a sequin on each of our eyes.

CORPORAL

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# The Dilemma of T. S. Eliot

BY SIDNEY HOOK

IN AN interesting essay in the *New English Review* entitled Notes Towards a Definition of Culture, T. S. Eliot raises some basic questions about culture, society, and religion which have provoked wide discussion on both sides of the Atlantic. The position Mr. Eliot takes on these questions challenges attention not only on its own account but as an indication that influential intellectual circles, despairing of the present and fearing the future, have turned from secular to religious solutions of the crisis of our time.

To understand and evaluate Mr. Eliot's proposals, we must begin by distinguishing the three different meanings of the word "culture" that appear in his analysis. He himself is explicit only about the first two. The first is the practice of arts and letters. The second is the anthropological concept of culture, familiar since Tylor, as a complex of institutions, techniques, and ideals—sometimes used interchangeably with the term "civilization." The third is the normative sense of culture expressed in the adjectives Mr. Eliot prefixes to it, like "superior" or "true" in contrast with "deteriorated" or "retrograde."

The mark of culture in this third sense is its *organic* character revealed in the functional interrelation between human activities. The complete absence of organic character may spell the end of culture. But there are various kinds of organic societies which Mr. Eliot evaluates quite differently. A head-hunting community in which the crafts of design are interwoven with its economy and a heresy-hunting community in which religion is synthesized with politics are both organic. This necessitates a purer kind of value judgment to enable Mr. Eliot to choose between them. That organic society has the best culture in which great arts and letters flourish, and in which they are integrally related by certain distinctive religious beliefs to the whole complex of social institutions. Such a culture is designated by Mr. Eliot as a "total culture."

Mr. Eliot's argument is that the development of this total culture is dependent upon a common religious faith whose values and meanings unify both the workaday and the intellectual-artistic life. The dominant social influence must be wielded by a hereditary élite, based on "transmitted aptitudes and domestic environment" and open to new recruits who meet "the sole qualification of *achievement*." A common faith is necessary to counteract the shattering effects upon institutions and personalities of withdrawing large areas of human life from traditional religious sanctions. For past history has shown that once a binding religious faith is loosened, "the spirit of inquiry, skepticism, and innovation" corrodes the fabric of social life. Even religion, now isolated from the rest of the cultural pattern, is disintegrated by the acids of the inquiring spirit. In time the pattern itself is threatened with dissolution, which "with the advance of liberty of thought and behavior imposes a strain upon human beings greater than the majority can bear."

Totalitarianism is one pattern of unification, but Mr. Eliot rejects it as "artificial" without explaining the term further. He recognizes it, however, as a natural reaction to the disorder produced by separating religion from the rest of culture. For Mr. Eliot a total, religious culture is the only alternative to the blight of totalitarianism.

The fundamental difficulty in Mr. Eliot's position, as I see it, is that his common religious faith, which is frankly supernatural, provides no principle of direction for the intelligent control of social change. Although he insists that we must make "fresh judgments and decisions in constantly changing situations," these judgments are in the nature of the case empirical. They cannot be derived either by logic or intuition from absolute supernatural truths, which in the Christian tradition are compatible with different empirical judgments. Despite the fact that Christianity has exercised a great influence, both for good and evil, on all societies in Western Europe since the days of Rome, the principles of not a single social system can be attributed to its dogmas. It has, however, shown itself capable of adaptation to every social system, including fascism. The source of our fresh judgments and decisions in constantly changing situations must therefore be sought elsewhere. Mr. Eliot's "common religious faith" runs the risk of having no more influence on the actual sources of these judgments and decisions than the Chaplain's prayer in Congress has on the subsequent proceedings.

Where a common supernatural faith does seem to bear on what appears to non-believers to be empirical questions like divorce, birth control, separation of church and state, the point is that such questions are decided by believers without reference to "constantly changing situations." In short, they are not treated as empirical questions at all.

This basic difficulty is almost admitted by Mr. Eliot in his further remark that a common supernatural faith must become the faith of peoples of different cultures and, "while uniting these peoples in a common brotherhood, can be contemplated in its transcendence of culture, *as well as lived in the condition of each particular culture*" (my italics). What specific directives can be supplied by a supernatural religious faith which must be thinned down to the vaguest phrases in order to be acceptable to Mohammedan, Confucian, and Hindoo cultures, whose members constitute the majority of the human race? Or is Mr. Eliot thinking only of a Christian world order, and an Anglo-Catholic one at that?

I pass over Mr. Eliot's notion of a hereditary élite because of its ambiguity. It is noteworthy, however, that he conceives of accessions to his élite not in terms of blood or wealth but of excellence and achievement. But if the avenues of achievement are to be kept open, it is of the utmost importance to preserve "the spirit of inquiry, skepticism, and innovation," and if fresh judgments and decisions are required for constantly changing situations, it is even more important to extend "the advance of liberty of thought and behavior." Yet

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all this makes for what Mr. Eliot and the neo-Thomists call "disorder." It must be controlled by a common religious faith, or else, despite certain gains, it will have the same disintegrating effects as it allegedly had on the medieval synthesis. Such control to be truly effective demands an iron grip on the intellectual life of the community. This in turn entails the existence of an organization, more centralized and powerful than the church in the Middle Ages, to determine what threatens the unity of culture and what not. No field of thought or action can be permitted to develop autonomously, for although the power of such an organization may nominally be restricted to matters of faith and morals, *it alone is the judge of what concerns faith and morals.* It is a foregone conclusion that the judgments of relevance will flow not so much from supernatural dogmas—which are unanalyzable abstractions that can be filled with variable historical content—as from the special interests of an ecclesiastical élite. The upshot is a variety of the very totalitarianism whose general pattern Mr. Eliot is anxious to avoid.

This, then, is Mr. Eliot's dilemma. He is unwilling to embrace current forms of totalitarianism, but his diagnosis of the causes of their rise leads him to proposals which, if enforced, would result in some kind of ecclesiastical fascism. His own account of the new total culture sounds gentle and conciliatory enough. But it is practically certain that people like him, or M. Maritain, will not administer it.

There is another alternative to Mr. Eliot's pattern of unification. This is a worldwide common faith, of a secular not supernatural character, based upon regional and international planning in economy, democracy in political and social life, and scientific method as the highest source of authority for those "fresh judgments and decisions in constantly changing situations" whose necessity Mr. Eliot admits. Its pattern of unification differs in notable ways from that proposed by Mr. Eliot. First of all, it is far less monistic. It aims at removing the disproportions between social, economic, and legal institutions but seeks no control over the free market of ideas or over manifestations of ideal culture—art, philosophy, theoretical science, and religion. It recognizes the desirability of producing integrated persons, but aside from equitably supplying the materials and the opportunity, it leaves the achievement of integration to the individual.

In general there is too much loose talk of integration and unification, and I fear that to some degree Mr. Eliot's analysis suffers from it. Unless we carefully distinguish the levels on which we should seek unification from those on which we must avoid it, we are likely to slur over the virtues, aesthetic and moral, of a rich plurality of cultural expressions. The common faith we require is limited only to beliefs that justify the social *practices* which insure democratic, cooperative living, peace, a decent standard of living, and an open career to intellectual and artistic talents—in other words, to what makes it possible for *different* human beings to live together without the plagues of poverty, war, and cultural terror. Integration on this level can be organized by intelligent social planning. But it neither presupposes nor implies integration on the plane of ideal cultural life, although the latter will naturally reflect in divers ways the new social experience. We have the right to believe, if democracy is preserved, that art, literature, philosophy, even religion, will be less constrained in a planned social-economic order than in the unplanned order of capitalism, whose "fetishism of commodities" exerts powerful, even when indirect, compulsions on the artist and thinker.

*The underlying premises, whether theological, metaphysical, or naturalistic, from which different groups justify their common democratic beliefs and practices must not be subject to integration. It is enough, so to speak, that human beings live in accordance with democratic laws: it is foolish intolerance to make only one justification of the laws legal.*

Integration on the level of personality is something else again. Mental and moral hygiene since the time of Plato teaches the wisdom of achieving a balanced wholeness. Yet it is also true that the torn and sick soul, like the "morbid secretions" of the oyster, to take an example from the opposite pole of creation, has often given the world pearls of great luster. We know that some geniuses have been borderline cases of insanity. We would not hesitate to lose the benefit of future geniuses of this type if we could free mankind altogether from the curse of insanity. But neuroses are too varied, and we know too little about their causation, once we strip current theories of their mythological elements, to justify any stringent, wholesale measures to prevent their emergence. Health has too often been confused with normality. According to some notions about neurosis, firemen would have to be declared neurotic about fire: they can't see a large blaze without wanting to put it out. According to some other notions, the creative life, save in the case of a few Olympian characters, demands an inner torment and compulsive drive that may appear queer or unnecessary to the happily adjusted. Freud himself regards neurosis as inexpugnable from life because it grows out of the Oedipus complex, which is transmitted through the racial unconscious; while his more sober followers interpret it as a conflict between the spontaneous expansion of the ego and the constricting patterns of social authority, and therefore an integral element of all social life.

My point is that however we gauge the value of wholeness of personality, the desire to achieve it and the choice of any particular pattern must be left to the individual as sacred ground on which society cannot trespass, although through education it can surround the individual with multiple options. Wholeness of personality is practically impossible of achievement, except by a few, in a culture whose social relations are discordant. Yet the presence of harmonious social relations is far from sufficient to guarantee it.

An integrated character is made, not born. It is the individual himself, *when society provides tolerably decent permissive conditions,* who plays the greatest part in the making of it. The most significant problems in the struggle for the maturity and the inward peace and freedom that define the integrated character are personal, particularly when the threat of poverty and insecurity is removed. But such problems cannot always be resolved. Who does not know individuals, some of great powers and some of small, of whom we can say with ground that in our Western society, planned or not, they will remain beset by insatiable hungers, driven by errant impulses, and lacerated by conflicting allegiances or frustrated ambitions? Nor are they all denizens of Bohemia! There is evidence that even in Mr. Eliot's total organic culture the sensi-

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tive artist and the devout Christian will continue at war with each other in his soul. For his religious faith does not well up whole-heartedly from his poetic insights, nor is it a compulsion of a mystical experience: it is the object of a deliberate will-to-believe enjoying an uneasy triumph over the scruples of intelligence.

There is no valid reason to fear that a secular, democratic, socialist order would be hostile to the development of a superior culture. Let us not forget for a moment that the racial mythology of Hitlerism and the authoritarian dialectic materialism of Stalinism are vicious *Ersatz* theologies; that their political systems are more theocratic than democratic; that their socialism is non-equalitarian without the adornments of an aristocracy of virtue or talents.

Mr. Eliot asks those of us who disagree with him to reflect that "a high degree of culture in an equalitarian society can only be attained if the great majority of men can be raised to a level, and kept at a level, which has never been remotely approached in the past." After reflection I am much puzzled by this. What can Mr. Eliot have in mind by an "equalitarian society"? Surely, not a society of biological equals! An equalitarian society is a democracy in which opportunities are accessible to all and in which levels of income, as an index of standards of living, are approximately the same for those who do productive labor. Is Mr. Eliot saying that before a superior culture can be achieved, not only must some people enjoy a decent standard of living, but others must be deprived of it? Why? After all, we can count on the same normal range of *biological* variation as a seed bed of cultural talent in an equalitarian society as in a stratified one. Specifically, what phase of culture is threatened by an equalitarian society? Why must "the majority of men" be raised to a historically unparalleled level for great science to develop, or great literature? How has it been in other societies which have enjoyed great cultures but in which the vast majority have been little more than beasts of burden? Why should the emancipation of the great majority *necessarily* make matters worse? Let us lay aside the parochial bias concealed in the invocation of absolute standards that eternalize the past. Once we do, there is ample reason to expect that in respect to cultural achievement an equalitarian society with present-day technological resources will at the very least come up to the high levels of non-equalitarian societies.

Because for Mr. Eliot, "Man is a rational animal," is a metaphysical, not empirical, proposition, it has no relevance to his program of social reform. Taken empirically, not all men are rational; but neither are most of them cretins or idiots. Rationality is not a timeless "essential" property of man but a natural and social power, dependent upon many other things which have a career in time. That is why men may become more rational and human through intelligent control of nature, society, history, and body-mind.

Because for Mr. Eliot, "Human personality possesses a unique worth," is a theological, not empirical, proposition, he discounts the possibilities of organizing education, after a socialist order has been won, not merely to raise the level of cultural interests but to diversify creative achievements. He overlooks the fact that the so-called average man is a social category, not a biological one. To a society that plans for freedom, the notion of the gray undifferentiated masses is utterly repugnant. The truth on this point was recognized long ago even under the distorting influences of conventional class society. "The greater intellect one has," says Pascal, "the more originality one finds in men. Ordinary persons find no difference between men." William James and John Dewey have between them elaborated the systematic basis for this insight and its educational imperatives—it is an insight that is freshly rediscovered by every teacher who has found his true vocation.

In the democratic socialist culture of the future—if it has a future, a question I have completely begged—it will be the teacher dedicated to the scientific spirit and the democratic faith, and not the priest, who will bear the chief responsibility for strengthening and enriching a common faith.

# *In the Wind*

MAN-POWER: While the press bemoans the "exodus" of workers from war industries, the War Production Board estimates that war shortages are due to the following causes: step-ups in production schedules, 46 per cent; design changes, 26 per cent; labor shortages, 22 per cent; facilities shortages, 12 per cent. And the conservative Bureau of Labor Statistics announces that the "quit rate" in all manufacturing for August, September, and October of 1944 was lower than for the same months of 1943; also that it was lower in war industries than in manufacturing as a whole.

POLITICS: This advertisement appeared in the Savannah, Georgia, *Morning News* of December 19: "For Congress, First Georgia District. Vote for H. W. Shepard, White Jeffersonian Democrat, in Real Election November 5, 1946. Favors restricting the franchise to the white race. Opposes policing the world with American conscripts."

BALLYHOO: On the day we learned that the British Broadcasting Corporation, acting on orders from the government, had refused to permit Juan Negrín to broadcast his address to the anti-Franco meeting in New York January 2, a reader called our attention to the fact that the dust jackets of books from England carry a blurb for the B. B. C. that ends with these words: "The voice of Britain is the voice of freedom."

JOURNALISM: The Baton Rouge *State-Times* of December 20 ran Westbrook Pegler's column thus: "The Dies committee educated the public in many ways. The terms 'fellow-traveler,' 'Trojan horse,' and 'transmission belt,' all part of the Communist jargon, entered the common language, designating conspirators or dupes who col- (Continued on Comic Page)."

FESTUNG EUROPA: A Copenhagen woman, watching some new German recruits, remarked, "They're only children!" As punsihment for her insult to the Wehrmacht, the Gestapo forced her to stand at attention for three hours, repeating, "They're not children, they're heroes."

*[Readers are invited to submit material for In the Wind. One dollar will be paid for each item accepted.]*

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# Testament Against Fascism

## ALEXANDER UHL

NOT so many weeks ago I stood on the Franco-Spanish frontier, at the little border post of Pont du Roi, where the Garonne River tears down from the Spanish Pyrenees into France. It was the first time that I had seen Spanish soil since those last tragic days of the Spanish civil war. . . .

That night, in a French hospital, I talked with some of the wounded who had come back from the Spanish border. I talked with one man whom I was sure I had seen before. At first I couldn't place him. Finally I noticed an old bullet scar on his arm, and I asked him about it. He said that he was a Cuban and that he had been wounded fighting with the International Brigade back in 1937. Then suddenly it flashed upon me where I had last seen him. I said to him: "You were once a florist, and the last time I saw you was when I interviewed you in the trenches south of Madrid. I wrote a story about you because I met you carrying a heavy jar of water to water the plants you were growing on the side of the trench. And I thought how strange it was for a man in the midst of battle to be growing flowers. You told me that you loved flowers and that that little garden was one of the bright spots in your life."

He looked at me and smiled. "Yes," he said, "that's right. I still love flowers."

We shook hands like a couple of excited schoolboys who had met after long years. And when I left him I carried with me a little feeling of shame in my heart that I had been living in comparative comfort while he had fought against fascism for seven long years, until he was lying in this bed with a fresh bullet wound in his leg to match his old scar of the Spanish war. I don't think anyone can understand this war against fascism unless he can understand that man and the determination and hope that fill him.

He was just one of many in that hospital, one of the many men who had fought for the Spanish Republic as long as they could, who had fought in the French *maquis* against the Germans, and who hoped now to free their own country.

## THOMAS MANN

THIS war has a gloomy, unsavory pre-history, and it is the deep concern of all those who are waging the war with a moral sense that we did not truly and for all time break with this pre-history when we were forced into the war against fascism, that indeed we are ready, as soon as the opportunity is right, to tread this same path again, which leads directly to war, the path of appeasement, fostering and promoting the fascist enemy of mankind. If this concern were at all justified, it would indicate a break in our will which all our technical capabilities, all our productive forces, and all the skill of our generals would never make good. Even at this late date it may cause us to lose the war and would certainly cause us to lose the peace. . . .

It all began in Spain. There the powers of evil, in a moral and military sense, tested their war of aggression upon the cause of humanity, and the hypocritical name of non-intervention inadequately concealed the aid which we gave them and the oppressors of the Spanish people. From that point a direct road leads to the disgracefully fatal day of Munich, and to the world catastrophe of war. The Spanish Caudillo is as cruel a hangman of liberty and democracy as Hitler or Mussolini. To make common cause with him, to bolster his shaking pedestal by making treaties with him—the sworn enemy of our cause—to concede a position of neutrality to him, is equivalent to a confession before the world that we do not know what we want or that we know only too well that in secret we want the survival of fascism. . . .

## G. BROMLEY OXNAM

I DESIRE the severance of all diplomatic relations with Franco Spain because I want to keep my faith, in myself and in what men are and may be. I do not want the hand of democracy made foul by clasping the hand of fascism. My sons wear the uniform of this country, one with the crossed rifles of an infantry officer and the other with the cross of a chaplain, and I am eager that they and their comrades may know that this nation fights fascism not alone of German brand but wherever it lifts its head. Let us, as a people and as a government, have done with the fascist.

I speak not only as a citizen, but also as a churchman. . . . I would not be true to myself if I did not add that whenever the church, in a blind endeavor to preserve its privileges and its property, makes common cause with fascism, allies itself with the great landlords and the military, it not only repudiates its Christ but deserves the wrath of the masses it has betrayed. In making this statement I do not mean to attack a particular church. It so happens it was the Roman Catholic church in Spain. In pre-revolutionary Russia it was the Greek church, whose voice was too often that of the Czar rather than of Christ. And if Protestant bodies anywhere become more interested in the maintenance of the institutions of religion than in permeating the community with the spirit of Christ and moving forward in those mighty endeavors that seek justice and the emancipation of men, then they will earn the rejection of the people, who know that the Kingdom of God cannot be built upon foundations of injustice.

## WILLIAM L. SHIRER

I RECENTLY returned from a two months' stay in France. And I can give you this news: France, which along with Great Britain and ourselves shared such a terrible responsibility for the triumph of Franco, has changed. Frenchmen from De Gaulle on down, and including the

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vast majority of French Catholics, will do what they can to hasten the end of the Spanish dictator. They know that unless Britain and America intervene, Franco and his Spanish brand of fascism cannot survive the defeat of Nazism and fascism.

It was a very stirring thing to see this change in France. The other day I sat in the Consultative Assembly in Paris. It was a strange but magnificent scene. A speaker at the tribune was attacking Franco as a German stooge, which of course he always has been. And everyone in that assembly, including the conservative Catholics, and a French monk in a white robe, jumped to his feet and wildly applauded.

The people of Europe, I found, the overwhelming mass of them—the people who fought Germans at the risk of their necks and were tortured and murdered for their patriotism—are determined to have an end with fascism—everywhere. These people are stronger than you think, or than Mr. Churchill thinks, or at least thought before he flew to Greece the other day. After all, was it not Churchill who spoke that eloquent sentence, a sentence I would like to leave with you in closing: "There is no high explosive so powerful as the soul of a free people"?

That goes for all people and especially for the valiant people of Spain. They too—I hope with our help, but if that is not forthcoming, then without it—will be free again.

[*Excerpts from speeches at the Madison Square Garden rally against Franco held on January 2 under the auspices of The Nation Associates and labor and civic organizations.*]

# *South American Labor Front*

WE DO not like to think that the end of this war or its sequel may be fought in the Western Hemisphere. We are slow, therefore, to become interested in Latin America, where fascism is now preparing to fight on a third front. Progressive elements in Latin America recognize the danger that confronts them and are mobilizing to meet it in the only way possible, by strengthening trade-union and democratic forces and by attacking the life line of Falangism at its source in Spain. One of the most vigorous groups in this effort is the Confederation of Latin American Workers, the C. T. A. L., which claims a membership of 5,000,000. Its Second General Congress was held in Cali, Colombia, last month. An A. P. reporter attended the sessions and filed thousands of words, but the United States press took almost no notice of this important inter-American event.

The C. T. A. L. Congress had four major objectives: the organization of a continental democratic barrier against the spread of fascism from Argentina, the organization of a united front of American workers preparatory to the World Trade Union Conference to be held in London next month, the development of a post-war program for American labor, and the formulation of policies for the participation of labor in Latin America's industrialization.

Delegates from fifteen Latin American countries, Great Britain, and the United States were present. Joseph Selly, president of the American Communications Association, and O. A. Knight represented the C. I. O.; David Efron and Adolph Staal attended as International Labor Office observers; Arthur Horner was the fraternal delegate of the British Trades Union Congress. Several Colombian government officials attended the opening sessions, and a congratulatory message from President Lopez was read. From abroad came greetings from the National Committee of the French General Confederation of Labor and from the Central Council of Unions of the Soviet Union.

Lombardo Toledano, president of the C. T. A. L., delivered the keynote speech, in which he stressed the fact that the coming era is "the period of the Industrial Revolution in Latin America." "The hour of socialism," he declared, "has not arrived. This is the hour of real democracy for which Bolivar struggled and died. . . . In order to achieve our goal we need the cooperation of our brothers in the United States, and the United States also needs us. . . . The same is true of Canada." Lombardo's speech called attention to the no-strike pledge and to the danger of native reactionaries, who, he said, were far more formidable adversaries than "the democratic sector of the United States, which, on the contrary, desires with us the economic and cultural development of our countries."

It is interesting to note that leading industrialists of Cali gave a banquet to the delegates. And on several occasions Lombardo declared that many manufacturers favored a strong labor movement as a help in the effort toward industrialization. The strength and implications of this sudden entente between labor and industry in Latin America remain to be seen; a possible explanation is that it is part of a united front against foreign imperialism. A resolution on the post-war industrialization of Latin America adopted by the Congress specifically welcomed foreign capital under controlled conditions, including a guaranty of wage rates, contract rights, and the like.

Ten important resolutions were adopted on the Argentine situation; one called for a one-day protest strike against the present fascist regime. The strike is scheduled to take place in Latin American countries only. Action by the C. I. O., whose delegates were enthusiastically applauded by the congress, has not yet been announced.

Joseph Selly reports an incident that is ironical in view of the Colombian government's hospitable attitude toward the C. T. A. L. During the first days of the congress Colombian government censorship prevented the transmission of statements derogatory to Argentina. Selly himself tested this by trying to send a message denouncing the Farrell-Perón regime. After protest by the congress the ban was lifted.

The trade-union and progressive movements in Latin America, regarding the Catholic church as a bulwark of reaction, have long been associated with anti-clericalism. The resolution on the church is therefore inexplicable except in the light of the overtures Moscow has been making in the direction of the Vatican. The resolution states that the C. T. A. L. respects all religions, churches, and believers, that it finds "no incompatibility between religious belief and the struggle for individual and social progress," and that the churches must "pursue the ends for which they were created, which are spiritual and not political." After distinguishing between reactionary and pro-democratic clerical

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elements, the resolution specifically expresses the C. T. A. L.'s desire for the cooperation of the Catholic church with the organized labor movement—a desire which is the stuff that dreams are made of but not political realities.

Other resolutions demanded the rupture of relations with Franco Spain and support for the Supreme Junta of National Union. The congress called for the eventual reconstruction of Gran Colombia and the Central American Union, Puerto Rican independence, and the reestablishment of democracy in the Dominican Republic. It condemned racial discrimination, and urged the release of all political prisoners in the Americas, with special mention of Carlos Presees, still imprisoned in Brazil. A mild resolution on Brazil noted its cooperation in the war effort but called for greater internal democracy in the holding of elections.

The Industrial Revolution now developing sporadically in Latin America has skipped many of the early technical, social, and economic phases of capitalist evolution, most notably that of uncontrolled competition under free enterprise. Government controls have already been established in most Latin American countries and are likely to be strengthened. Whether they will contribute to the achievement of greater or less democracy depends largely on the strength and wisdom of the organized free labor movement. If the C. T. A. L. grows sufficiently in political foresight and power it can become the decisive factor in the struggle between fascism and democracy.

The C. T. A. L. has so far maintained a solid united front against fascism. Much of its top leadership is Communist; some is not. It has made important gains against reactionary forces, and for Latin American workers the issue is not, for the present, communism or fascism, but the survival of democratic institutions in the Americas. V. M.

# *Behind the Enemy Line*

BY ARGUS

GERMAN domestic propaganda continues to make capital out of a serious mistake that crept into General Eisenhower's first proclamation to the German people. The proclamation contained the sentence, "We are not coming as liberators but as conquerors." Whether this offspring of the unconditional-surrender formula was politically useful is open to question, but quite aside from that, a catastrophic error was made in translating it, and it was the translation which the Germans read on posters and in dropped leaflets and heard on the air. The translator at Allied headquarters used the German word "Eroberer" for "conqueror." But while "to conquer" in English has two different meanings, in German each of these meanings is expressed by a special word. "To conquer" means either to win the victory or to acquire territory by subjugating it. "Erobern" has only the second meaning; the first is rendered by "siegen." The translator found in the dictionary two words for "conqueror": "Eroberer" and "Sieger." In all innocence he chose the first, which completely upset the sense of the proclamation. "We are coming as 'Eroberer' " was equivalent, for Germans, to an authoritative announcement by the Allies that they were entering the country with the intention and for the purpose of subjugating it and holding it permanently.

Such mistakes are human, and certainly this slip will not alter the course of the war. But we should not be surprised to see it turned to every possible use in the Reich. Day after day Germans are reminded, in one way or another, that "General Eisenhower has declared over his signature that he intends to 'erobern' our country." For example, in the campaign against collaborators with the Anglo-Americans all persons who accept office in the Allied zone have been threatened with vehmic murder. Objections seem to have been raised by the public—the *Kölnische Zeitung* printed a genuine or fictitious communication which protested: "You apply different standards. Belgian collaborationists were always welcomed by us. We arrested their opponents and executed their murderers. But German collaborationists in Eupen and Aachen are called traitors and their murderers are glorified. How is that?" The newspaper's answer was based not only on the fact that Belgium had capitulated while the Reich has no thought of doing so but also on Eisenhower's proclamation. "If we had acted as Eisenhower now does," it said, "we would probably not have found any collaborationists at all. For us Liège was an occupied town, whereas Eisenhower has authoritatively stated that Aachen is an 'eroberte' town."

Some details for those who in recent weeks, swinging from one extreme to the other, have gloomily foreseen no end to the German capacity for resistance:

1. In the coming year Germany will not have the large quantities of foodstuffs which it got from the occupied countries in 1944. Domestic production is also bound to fall off. The *Deutsche Landwirtschaft* for November 3 informed farmers that the amount of fertilizer furnished will be appreciably reduced. Only 25 per cent, at the maximum, of the nitrogen—the most important of the fertilizers—used in 1938 will be available. "And it is uncertain whether this reduced quantity can all be delivered in time." The situation with respect to labor and animals "will deteriorate farther."

2. In January, 1945, the seventy-first month of rationing, the German consumer will receive one egg. It is doubtful whether he will get even one in February. But on the January basis he would get 12 eggs a year. In the first year of war he was allowed 86, in the second 69, in the third 49, in the fourth 39, and in the fifth 24.

3. The scarcity of civilian supplies has become so desperate that the *Münchener Neueste Nachrichten* ran the following idyl in its November 13 issue:

> In some restaurants guests are now requested to leave a deposit for their dinner cutlery. In others people must deposit their identification cards before getting knives and forks for their meals. Sometimes the issuance of these implements is combined with the checking of coats and hats; guests are given special tokens for which the waiter supplies the needed cutlery, which must be returned before the guest leaves.

"All travelers and persons who eat in restaurants," the newspaper went on to say, "are advised to carry with them not only a napkin but their own knife, fork, and spoon in order to spare themselves some unpleasant experiences."

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# BOOKS and the ARTS

## NOTES BY THE WAY

BY MARGARET MARSHALL

INTRINSICALLY it is unfair to subject John Steinbeck's latest book, "Cannery Row" (Viking Press, $2), to the standards of serious (I do not mean unhumorous) literature, as unfair as it would be to judge glass jewelry, or what the department stores call simulated gems, by the standards that apply to precious stones. But the responsible critic, who is presumably jealous of the good name of art and whose function, if he has any at all, is to engender discrimination in the reading public, is forced to undertake the thankless exercise of demonstrating that "Cannery Row" is the chaff and not the wheat of literature because the book is being talked about as if it were, a priori, an authentic work of art.

Let it be said at the start that the subject of "Cannery Row"—the life and the attitude toward life of a group of ne'er-do-wells in California—seems to me a perfectly good subject for literature; and I don't think it's "too bad" that Steinbeck doesn't write about the war.

A good book, even a great book, could be fashioned from the materials Mr. Steinbeck has used. I say could be; I should say has been, by a writer named Mark Twain. For, unhappily for Mr. Steinbeck, this book reminds one of Mark Twain—as fake jewels remind one of real ones—if only because it is essentially a string of anecdotes, some of them tall tales, of the sort Mark Twain delighted in.

The writing, to begin with, is factitiously simple, after the fashion of the moment; it is at the same time highflown and flyblown, cheap, fancy, and false. Here are the first and the last two sentences of paragraph one:

> Cannery Row in Monterey in California is a poem, a stink, a grating noise, a quality of light, a tone, a habit, a nostalgia, a dream. . . . Its inhabitants are, as the man once said, "whores, pimps, gamblers, and sons of bitches," by which he meant Everybody. Had the man looked through another peephole he might have said, "saints and angels and martyrs and holy men," and he would have meant the same thing.

The whole book is written in this daydream prose which devitalizes everything it touches and has the same relation to the force of life, and of good writing, as the iridescent foam on the edge of a river has to the main current.

The paragraph also gives us a précis of Mr. Steinbeck's "philosophy"—which brings us to his characters. They include a bunch of "no-goods, come-to-bad-ends, blots-on-the-town, thieves, rascals, bums," to quote the author's all too imitable catalogue, a village idiot, a mysterious "Chinaman" who "carried a little cloud of fear about with him," the madam of a sporting house and her girls, who are, in the hoary tradition, good at heart—these and "Doc," the little father of the town who knows all, understands all, forgives all. His "face is half Christ and half satyr." He has "the hands of a brain surgeon, and a cool warm mind," whatever that may mean. He tips his hat to dogs and dogs "smile at him." He is, finally, "concupiscent as a rabbit and gentle as hell."

The first defect of these characters is not that they are "typed" but that Steinbeck endows them with no motive power of their own. They do not move but are moved about. Often he achieves a good imitation of the behavior and speech of bums and ne'er-do-wells—but at fatal moments the hand and voice of Steinbeck become all too apparent. As a result "Cannery Row" lacks reality—either the reality of a fairy tale, which can be devastating, or the reality of straight fiction.

The great defect grows out of Steinbeck's attitude toward the people he has chosen to portray. He professes to love them; he probably thinks he does. But his real attitude, except in the case of Doc, is nine parts condescension and one part sentimentality. In "Cannery Row" Mr. Steinbeck handles human beings as if they were a species of small animal life. They exist and have their being on the same level as the frogs and dogs, the cats and octopuses he is so fond of watching. Their "happiness" is that of insects, and his "love" for them is that of a collector. Conversely, and significantly, he humanizes frogs and dogs, cats and octopuses in a way that becomes at times repellent as well as embarrassing.

Steinbeck grants a certain equality in human terms to Doc, who collects animals for scientific purposes. Doc is patently, up to a point, Steinbeck. But as a character he is a miserable failure. In order to create a character who is a philosopher, a man of wisdom and compassion, it is surely necessary to be oneself really mature and endowed with wisdom and compassion. In Doc we get only substitutes for these qualities, and I mean literally substitutes, for when Steinbeck must show Doc moved by deep feeling, all we get is the news that Doc hears music and a description of the music; when he must communicate wisdom to his animal-children he produces "world sadness" among them by reading, at a party they give for him, a poem which we are told in a footnote is "Black Marigolds," translated from the Sanskrit by E. Powys Mathers!

Aside from its negative failures, "Cannery Row" also has its positive vices. If proof were needed that sentimentality and cruelty are the two sides of the same coin, it may be found in this book. The unpleasant pleasure with which Steinbeck describes the killing of a mouse by a cat, the "murder" of a crab by an octopus, the sadism of a small boy toward a smaller boy, is disturbing, to say the least. As for the vulgarity which is a by-product of sentimentality, it is all too manifest here. Steinbeck's maudlin celebration of the automobile leads him to speak of one of his characters as "the little mechanic of God," "the St. Francis of coils and armatures and gears." It also leads him to the "philosophical" statement that "two generations of Americans knew more about the Ford coil than the clitoris."

His social criticism in general is of this stripe. For "Cannery Row" has "social significance" of a curious kind. It seems to be written out of a violent hatred of modern life,

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particularly of our money civilization. Mr. Steinbeck uses strong language on this score. "What can it profit a man to gain the whole world and to come to his property with a gastric ulcer, a blown prostate, and bifocals?" ". . . a generation of trapped, poisoned, and trussed-up men. . . ." He calls the parties given by professional hostesses "about as spontaneous as peristalsis and as interesting as its end product."

Hatred can be creative. Steinbeck's is not. And in the end it defeats itself. His picture of Monterey is certainly meant to be a protest against the futile busy-ness, the greed and ugliness of modern life. If he had captured the reality of Cannery Row, in fantasy or otherwise, it *would* have constituted a protest, and might have been far more hilarious than it is. What he has actually accomplished, by turning his characters into happy and inferior creatures who live in a non-existent Monterey, is an irrelevant and rather smug escape from modern life. Bankers will love it.

"Cannery Row" is a "simulated gem" which has neither intrinsic luster nor permanent worth. It would not be worth the space I have given it if it were not, along with many another of the same sort, being currently passed, and accepted, as the genuine article.

# BRIEFER COMMENT

## Dr. Ruml's Proposals

A NOTEWORTHY FEATURE of Dr. Beardsley Ruml's "Tomorrow's Business" (Farrar and Rinehart, $2.50) is its avoidance of the clichés and platitudes which drip from the pens of most business men—or their ghost writers—when they undertake the defense of private enterprise. This is not just a matter of style, for Dr. Ruml has done his own thinking and has produced an analysis of the structure and functions of business which is decidedly stimulating. Moreover, he is a man who realizes that business must justify itself by works as well as faith, who can discuss the question of the union shop without working himself into a lather, who has read and digested Keynes and Hansen, and who can contemplate an unbalanced budget with a calm calculated to shock the *Wall Street Journal* profoundly.

Business, argues Dr. Ruml, is a form of private government, one of the several private governments which, subject to the overriding authority of the state, direct the lives of all of us. It must be a rule-maker in order to carry out the business of business, which is to get things ready for use, to provide people with purposeful activity, and to employ savings productively. In making and enforcing its rules business sets a pattern for most people which restricts their freedom of choice, and as the author admits, if there is to be tolerable freedom for the governed under these circumstances, they must have the power to say "No," whether as vendors, customers, stockholders, or employees. It follows that freedom under private enterprise depends on both the absence of monopoly and the maintenance of approximately full employment. Dr. Ruml agrees that it is the job of the national government to insure both these conditions, and he urges a plan of fiscal reform and public works designed

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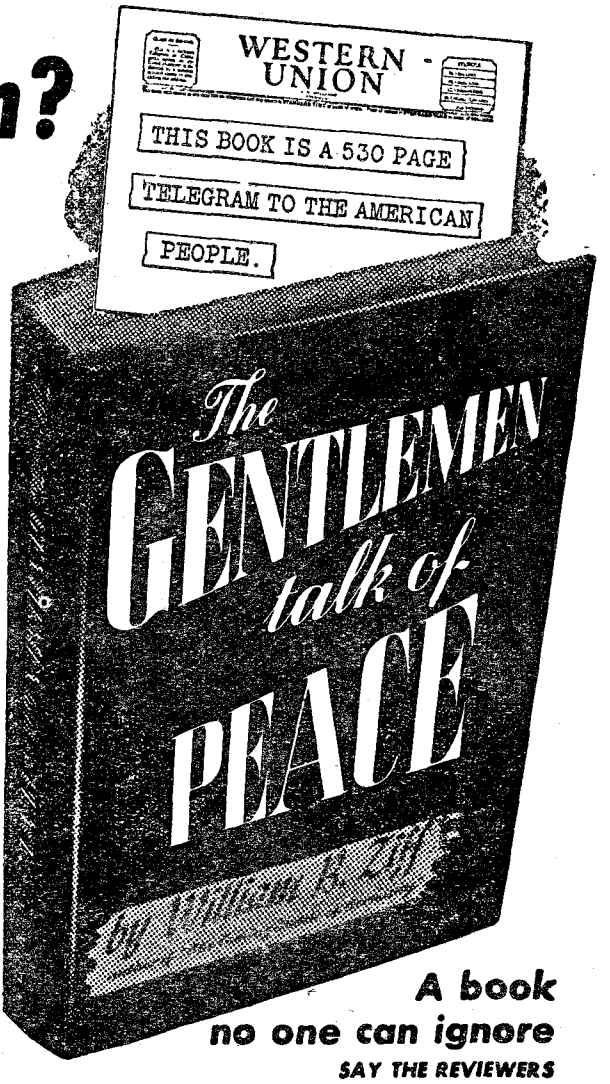


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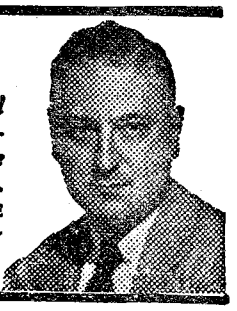
### *William B. Ziff*



*William Bernard Ziff is a distinguished military historian and authority on international affairs, whose views are highly regarded in official Washington. He is the author of* THE COMING BATTLE OF GERMANY, *an outstanding best seller of 1942.*

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to provide an adequate flow of purchasing power. It is impossible to summarize these proposals here. In so far as they provide for the abolition of regressive taxes and for a planned, continuous public-works program which would enable the construction industries to be reorganized on a stable basis, they are to be commended. But I question whether they would suffice to curb the tendency of purchasing power to pass from the weak to the strong, from the spenders to the over-savers, a tendency which Dr. Ruml recognizes as one of the gravest threats to the equilibrium of a capitalist economy.

KEITH HUTCHISON

## A Lesson From 1918

THE CHAPTER OF WORLD HISTORY described in "Armistice 1918," by Harry R. Rudin (Yale, $5), is more timely today than ever. The author does not discuss what might or should have been done, but tells the story of what was done. Mr. Rudin's account makes conscientious use of the available sources; it is non-partisan and factual and unbiased by popular myths. His story is informative and pertinent to the problems of the present.

There is nothing in the story of "Armistice 1918" to justify the theory that the granting of a premature armistice caused the developments leading to 1933 and 1939. The armistice very definitely took from the Germans the ability to continue the First World War, leaving everything else open. The phrase "unconditional surrender" was not used. But the conditions of the armistice were sufficient to enable the Allies to create the kind of peace they desired or were able to agree upon. The way this opportunity was used is another story.

Mr. Rudin avoids the error so frequently made of misinterpreting the effect of Wilson's Fourteen Points on Germany. He shows that the decisive success of the Fourteen Points was to cause Ludendorff to make a great mistake. Ludendorff hoped, after the fiasco of his last offensive in July, 1918, that it might be possible to gain a breathing spell or to escape the consequences of defeat by exploiting Wilson's idealism. Captivated by this idea, Ludendorff forced the Chancellor, Prince Max von Baden, to appeal to Wilson. By his pressure on the Chancellor, Ludendorff actually set in motion the mechanism by which in the course of a few weeks the German will to fight was broken. The discussions, the hopes, and the doubts aroused by the appeal to Wilson strongly contributed to rendering a German "last stand" psychologically impossible. Wilson succeeded at least in speeding the end of this one war. Readers of Mr. Rudin's book will have reason to doubt whether the slogan of "unconditional surrender" would have succeeded as well.

JOSEPH BORNSTEIN

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## Theater Yearbooks

FUTURE HISTORIANS of the stage are going to bless Burns Mantle for his annual "Best Plays" volume, which contains, in addition to abbreviated versions of ten plays, what is probably the most useful compendium of information about a theatrical year ever regularly compiled for any time or any country. The new volume, called now "The Best Plays of 1943-44 and the Year Book of the Drama in America" (Dodd, Mead, $3), finds the editor rather hard pressed to discover "ten best" that are also "ten good" plays, but the information supplied concerning the whole season is as full and as well arranged as ever. George Jean Nathan's "The Theater Book of the Year, 1943-44" (Knopf, $3) is the second annual issue of a volume rather more different from Mr. Mantle's than the title might indicate. There are no statistics, but to every play produced during the season Mr. Nathan gives from a page to several pages of comment in his own highly personal style instead of the mere summary of the plot to which Mr. Mantle, as annalist rather than critic, limits himself.

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

## To Baudelaire via Allen Tate

THE NEO-RELIGIONISTS have reached Baudelaire. Joseph D. Bennett's argument in his "Baudelaire. A Criticism" (Princeton, $2) is that Baudelaire is *persona grata* because in an age of optimism he reasserted the existence of the devil and because, though at the very end, he accepted even the positive side of Catholicism. The argument is based upon two interesting and symptomatic false assumptions: first, that such a reassertion was unique, or almost unique, in the nineteenth century; second, that only Catholics take a realistic view of human nature. The two assumptions combine to prevent Mr. Bennett from hearing what writers of the period, except for a handful of positivists, actually did say; and even the positivists he does not follow to the point

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where, like himself, they so often turned to religion. To Mr. Bennett the life of Nietzsche is only an attempt "to incarnate a demon." Baudelaire's attack on the idea of natural goodness he calls an "exposure of modern romantic ethical beliefs"; yet precisely such an attack is the stock procedure of romanticists from Novalis and Stendhal to Strindberg and Stefan George. Mr. Bennett's assault upon the nineteenth century is all too much in the nineteenth-century tradition.

The bad history and jejune philosophy are, however, largely confined to the first thirty and the last dozen pages of Mr. Bennett's 165-page book. The body of the text contains the close and dialectical analysis of poems from "Fleurs du Mal" that has long been needed. Alike in a deficiency of relevant historical information and in a keenness of intellect trained upon ironies and ambiguities, the analysis is the first important "new criticism" of Baudelaire. Some will say that the reader's opinion of the book as a whole will depend on his opinion of Allen Tate's school of criticism. For my part I admire Tate himself for his own special abilities; at least he stands in direct relation to the work criticized. The epigone is different. The perceptions of the master he degrades to the rank of formulas, and he sees not the object but the formulas. Mr. Bennett is looking for Baudelaire; but in his path stands the redoubtable editor of the *Sewanee Review*.

ERIC RUSSELL BENTLEY

## Isolationism and War

IF THE PROSPECTIVE READER doesn't take its title too seriously he will find "An Intelligent American's Guide to the Peace (Dryden Press, $3.75), which was compiled under the general editorship of Sumner Welles, extremely useful. Mr. Welles also contributes the introduction. This comprehensive handbook of the nations of the world is really a guide to the causes of World War II rather than a guide to the peace. Its purpose, as Sumner Welles states in the introduction, is to help "the average citizen . . . obtain . . . some of the basic and factual information which he will require in order to understand the major problems" we must face. To this end a section is devoted to each independent nation and each major dependent people in the world. In addition to the information contained in any good handbook—facts about the people of each country, its land, industries, natural resources, and cultural development—this book provides an interpretative sketch of each country's history between the two wars. It is these historical sketches that make the book "an intelligent American's guide," for they are extraordinarily informative. They show how in the interval between wars each country, great and small, pitted its individual resources against the powerful world forces that were making for war. While different countries adopted different expedients in the vain search for security, all were infected with the deadly germ of isolationism, in one form or another. The end, in nearly every case, was war, and in many instances it was destruction. A final paragraph in each section is devoted to a realistic consideration of the given country's stakes in the peace, showing that after the war each will face problems that can only be solved through effective international cooperation.

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# Films

JAMES AGEE

IF YOU compare the moving pictures released during a given period with the books published during the same period—or with the plays produced or the pictures painted or the music composed—you may or may not be surprised to find that they stand up rather well. I can think of very few contemporary books that are worth the jackets they are wrapped in; I can think of very few movies, contemporary or otherwise, which fail to show that somebody who has worked on them, in front of the camera or in any one of many places behind it, has real life or energy or intensity or intelligence or talent.

But you have only to compare the best of last year's films with the best that have been made or in your conception could be made, and the best that have been made with the best work you have known in any other art you choose, to know that those who make or care for moving pictures have great reason to be angry, for all that is frustrated, and still greater reason to be humble, for all that is fallen short of, frustration or no. And if you foresee how few years remain before the grandest prospect for a major popular art since Shakespeare's time dissolves into the ghastly gelatinous Nirvana of television, I think you will find the work of this last or any recent year, and the chance of any sufficiently radical improvement within the tragically short future, enough to shrivel the heart. If moving pictures are ever going to realize their potentialities, they are going to have to do it very soon indeed. Aware of that, and aware also of the works of genius which have already been achieved in films, I have no patience with the patient and patronizing who remind us mellowly that it took centuries to evolve an Aeschylus or a Joyce.

The sickening thing is that nearly everything that has virtue or hope at all is lukewarm or worse. We are learning better and better all the time, for instance, how to make films beautifully, elegantly, patiently, perfectly—so long as nobody severely questions the nature of the beauty, the quality of the elegance, the focus and result of the patience, the meaning and value of the perfection. In this sense I suppose "The Song of Bernadette" is a nearly perfect picture. I would about as soon see all that kind of skill and devotion used in embroidering the complete text of the Solemnization of Matrimony on a pair of nylon drawers. It is as if all the power and resource of the English language were to culminate in the prose of Donald Culross Peattie.

This suffocating genteelism, this suicidal love for and pride in the utterly controlled and utterly worthless effect, has become as grim a threat to movies as the rankest commercialism that could ever be reputed of Hollywood. Needless, perhaps, to add, it is the one aesthetic logically available to the commercial mind; such minds can hardly be blamed for indorsing a kind of beauty they genuinely care for, to the detriment of kinds they have to accept or indorse, if at all, on faith.

Or consider "With the Marines at Tarawa," the best of the four or five film records of war which I consider the best films of the year. I profoundly respect their craftsmanship, which is not only good but well used, and their good taste. And I grant that short of a tremendously forceful, daring, and sure creative intelligence, craftsmanship and taste are the best available two hands with which to work at such material. Yet it seems a sorry year in which decent grammar and a modest sense of one's subject, honorable as these are, have earned higher honor than any other achievement.

The best fiction films of the year, "The Curse of the Cat People" and "Youth Runs Wild," were made by Val Lewton and his associates. I esteem them so highly because for all their unevenness their achievements are so consistently alive, limber, poetic, humane, so eager toward the possibilities of the screen, and so resolutely against the grain of all we have learned to expect from the big studios. But I am afraid there is no reason to believe that the makers of these films, under the best of circumstances, would be equipped to make the great, and probably very vulgar, and certainly very forceful revolutionary pictures that are so desperately needed. Indeed, I suspect that their rather gentle, pleasing, resourceful kind of talent is about the strongest sort we can hope to see working in Hollywood with any consistent, useful purity of purpose; and the pictures themselves indicate to what extent that is frustrated.

If only a half-dozen properly placed men in Hollywood realized and knew how to apply the lessons in "Going My Way," they might be assured of almost any number of hits, and we might be assured of an equal number of more or less good films. The lessons, if I read them right, are that leisureliness can be excellent, that if you take a genuine delight in character the universe is opened to you, and perhaps above all that a movie, like any other work of art, must be made for love. But I am ready to bet that the chief discernible result, if any, of "Going My Way" will be an anxiety-ridden set of vaudeville sketches about Pat and Mike in cassocks; and on that bet, with enough takers, I could set up a studio of my own.

It seems to me that when an intelligent director and an intelligent boss work smoothly together, you can expect

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pictures like "Double Indemnity." It is a neat picture, and it brings back into movies a lot of acid things which ought to be there. But it brings no new ones, and it does not handle the old ones, I would say, with any notable ingenuity or interest in taking a risk. Rather, it is strictly expert—a good thing of itself perhaps; but it looks to me as if the expertness were always as sharply controlled by what is dead sure at the box-office as by what is right. I imagine that in this limited sense we can hope for more from Billy Wilder, in the immediate future, than from anybody else around.

But is it anywhere near enough? I feel more hope, on the whole, in the climate of such a studio as Metro, which gave us last year the very generous and pretty "Meet Me in St. Louis" and the very likably earnest, dogged "30 Seconds Over Tokyo." But I would hardly say that either of these films gave me any hope that next year, or the year after, their makers might bring out one that you could never forget; indeed, both were rich in guaranties that nothing of the sort will happen.

As for the films of Preston Sturges, which are of course among the best and most gifted of the year, I will be more at rest in my liking for them when I am thoroughly convinced that Sturges is not rejecting half his talents; or that there is nothing on earth he is temperamentally able to do about it. I will probably always like the films of David Selznick better than reputedly condescending aesthetes like me are allowed to like such things; for I think that more than most things that come out of Hollywood they show both genuine talent, as distinct from mere professionalism, and a genuine love for movies, as distinct from mere executive concentration on them. But I am afraid they also show, and probably always will, an equally genuine love for commercial success, and a weakness for emotional and aesthetic and philosophical attitudes which belong, if anywhere, to soap opera.

In some respects I admire Arthur Ripley more than anyone else who released a picture during the past year—for his "Voice in the Wind," which was made relatively far outside the mill, on very little money, in very little time. His film showed an unequivocal and reckless passion for saying the best things possible in the best way possible. In nearly every other respect, I must admit, I thought it poor. But it is only in that kind of passion and disinterestedness, joined with adequate talent, that I see any hope. Name five men who have or have ever had it, and their position in Hollywood. And try to conceive what difficulties they would encounter, in raising the capital, in making the films, in getting them distributed, if they or any men of their order tried to do the work outside.

When an art is in good health, mediocrity and amorphous energy and commercialism and hostility toward disinterested men become more than forgivable, as lubricants and as stimulants, and the men of skill, or of affable or gentle or charming or for that matter venal talent, are more than welcome to exist, and to be liked and rewarded. When an art is sick unto death, only men of the most murderous creative passion can hope to save it. In either condition it is generally, if by no means always, this dangerous sort of man who does the great work. I wonder whether it is any longer possible, anywhere on earth, for such a man to work in films. I am almost certain it is not possible, and is not ever going to be, in this country.

## Drama

*JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH*

CAPTAIN JOHN PATRICK'S "The Hasty Heart" (Hudson Theater) turns out to be something of a tour de force. The entire action takes place in a convalescent ward behind the Burma front. There are no civilians in anyway concerned, and only one woman —the ward nurse—appears upon the scene. Yet the play is only by the accident of time and place a play about the war, and what happens could be told in so few words as to leave one wondering just how the material can be made to fill an evening. Yet the interest never really lags, and it seems to be sustained less by the atmosphere upon which it must to some extent depend than by the spiritual history of the one queer character around whom everything turns. Moreover, this central character is a young Scot who manages to unite in himself all the traditional Scotch characteristics and to cultivate them to so preposterous a degree that he might seem at first sight the hero of a burlesque rather than the hero of a play which is tragic at its best, and at least pathetic at those moments when it approaches closest to the sentimentality which it manages usually to escape.

This hero, Lachlen by name and "Lachy" to those who befriend him against his will, is a young member of a Highland regiment who has had one kidney removed as the result of a wound and who does not know that he will die in a few weeks because the remaining kidney is diseased. A kindly surgeon tells the secret to the mixed company of a convalescent ward into which Lachlen is sent, and they try to take him into their company. But Lachlen is suspicious, uncompromising, dour, and defiant to an almost insane degree. He will keep his own and he will give nothing. He wants no help from anyone and he will help none. The gift of a cigarette, a kind word even, seems to him an obligation, and he will be obligated to no man. He wants his own property and his own rights, but he wants no favors and no friendship. Because they know his secret and suspect that hardship and suffering explain his defiance, his companions turn first one cheek and then the other. They even buy for his birthday a kilt and its accoutrements—none of which he has ever owned because they are extras which the members of his regiment must pay for if they want them. Finally Lachlen melts. For the first time in his life he believes that disinterestedness is possible. He falls in love with the nurse; he distributes cigarettes to his buddies. But the surgeon, acting upon orders, is compelled to tell him that he is about to die. He realizes then that he has been pitied, he reverts to lonely fury, and he denounces the whole company. This is too much for even their goodness. They tell him what they really think of his character, his disposition, and his habits. But it is just such plain speaking as this that he understands. He hesitates; he asks them to take him back. And as the curtain falls he takes his place in the group which is having its picture snapped by the friendly nurse.

I have called the play a tour de force for the simple reason that it is more effective than sober thought convinces me it ought to be, because I cannot escape the conviction that it has been somehow "put across." I have some difficulty in really believing either that any man could be quite so dour or, at least, that if any man ever were he could be so converted. Three changes of heart so catastrophic as these and all within a few days are difficult to credit, and even if they are accepted they can be accepted only on the supposition that Lachlen is too extraordinary a freak not to be at most a pathetic oddity rather

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than a tragic hero. Moreover, I somewhat resent so violent an assault upon my capacity for response to sentimental appeals, even when, as is here the case, there is a good deal of humor to relieve the sentiment. But I must nevertheless admit that "The Hasty Heart" *is* put across, whether it should be or not. For one thing there is an extraordinary performance by Richard Basenhart (formerly the young Nazi of "Counter-Attack"). For another, besides very smooth performances by the rest of the cast, there is careful writing and very careful direction. But the whole thing does seem a bit gratuitous. Why should we want to feel so much about so unusual a character imagined in so unusual a predicament?

## Art Notes

A SUPERB EXHIBITION of Degas's bronzes, drawings, and pastels at the Buchholz Gallery (through January 27) asserts him to have been a great sculptor. However that may be, the charcoals and pastels surrounding his bronze pieces show that he was an incomparably greater draftsman. His marvelous line, not sharp but deep, cuts volumes out of flat picture space instead of out of gathering shadows; yet at the same time it cuts back into the infinity into which all the possible contours of a volume can be multiplied. His bronzes, on the other hand, depend just a little too much on the spectator's finding the right point of vantage—in other words, his sculpture reveals fewer contours than his drawings.

Richard Pousette-Dart, a young painter being shown at the Willard Gallery (through January 27), displays considerable promise. Working away from an ornamental, too heavily elaborated style, pushed along by the kindred influence of Jackson Pollock and that—strangely enough—of Mark Tobey, he tries for boldness, breadth, and the monumental. He has not attained them yet; he is still too graceful, but he is traveling in the right direction. American painting is much in need of all three qualities, and it is significant that Pollock, who manifests all three, has already begun to exert an influence, though he has been before the public hardly more than a year. C. G.

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# Music

*B. H. HAGGIN*

IN C. E. Montague's "A Hind Let Loose" one of the characters reflects on the nature and pleasure of real writing—which is not "to fit word on thought—no; to say this made two things of them—but to hold the thought, to force it up and up the scale of clarity to where it and some unsought word rushed together and a new thing came to life." He is led to this reflection by a piece of writing that had not been produced in that way. It had begun as an imaginary newspaper concert review: "Descanting . . . on the ways of the musical critics . . . Fay had said that a notice as written by any of them would apply just as well, and no better, to any one concert than to any other; more—he had spouted . . . a typical, universal concert-notice, true of all concerts past, present and to be, with unprejudiced blanks duly left for the names of any performers whatever." And suddenly faced with the need of a review of an exhibition of paintings he had not seen, Fay had filled the blanks with the names of the painters, and the meaningless statements had become a typical, universal art-notice. Thus, "Mr. Portland has a talent—we use the word advisedly—to which it is only too easy to do less than justice. He may, as some think, have not yet compassed the whole ascent from the mood of graceful prose to that of serene and elevated poetic feeling. But at least it is something to have the ground clear and unquestionably fertile, for the seeds of future breadth and resolution."

I was reminded of this the other day by a real-life example of the meaningless jargon of newspaper concert-reviewing. "Mr. Breisach," wrote Olin Downes after a performance of "The Magic Flute," "gave a musicianly and generally meritorious reading of the score. It is not to be concluded that if he continued to interpret this score he will necessarily fail to confer upon it more of the tension, fantasy, and sparkle that permeate the miraculous composition." As for the practice of writing about what one hasn't heard, the example occurs to me of a statement that Beecham's recorded performance of Mozart's Symphony K.201 was a transitional one in the direction of his "more recent performances" of the work—performances which the writer had not heard for the simple reason that Beecham had not given them. This was an example of the critic's being able to make points about invented material that he would not be able to make about fact; and some of Virgil Thomson's reviews and articles are further examples of this on a more elaborate scale and of course a much higher critical level. Thomson himself invents the data that he works up into the elaborate constructions of thought about Schnabel's playing of Beethoven or about Toscanini's playing of almost anything or about the way the great American orchestras came about and function, which he would not be able to work up out of what Schnabel or Toscanini or the orchestras actually do; on a lower level there is the common store of invented material on every subject, out of which writers go on producing their annual article on the problem of American music or the state of opera in America that they would not be able to produce out of the mere facts of those subjects.

By ignoring such fact—that lovers of serious music in this country show the same interest in opera, when they have the opportunity to hear it, as lovers of serious music in Europe, but that they don't have the Europeans' widespread opportunities to hear it because opera is too expensive to pay for itself and doesn't receive the government subsidies in this country which keep it going everywhere in Europe—writers can go on writing about opera not having taken root in this country and why: because it is given in foreign languages which prevent people from understanding it, or because its librettos are poor drama, or because old-fashioned staging converts it into musty museum-pieces with no appeal to minds of our own day. I have in the past pointed out that one sees opera-goers in Vienna reading librettos; and that one goes to the opera not for the drama of "Norma" or "Aida" but for the music into which that drama is translated. Let me now say something about staging.

I once attended a performance of "Lucia" by the Milan Scala company which was made extremely effective and moving first of all by the respect and love with which Toscanini treated every phrase of the music, and secondly by

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the similar respect and love that were evident in the staging. This did not reconstruct "Lucia" in the way the Moscow Art Theater Musical Studio reconstructed "Carmen," nor produce it in a "modern" style like that of Meyerhold; it gave validity to the work's own style and conventions, and in this way gave the opera the value it could have for a modern audience. It is this attitude of respect for their essential quality, and loving care in its achievement, that "Lucia" and other operatic classics need; it is this that the minds of today need, insofar as they need such classics. It is this, moreover, that one may ask of an institution like the Metropolitan; and one is then asking it to perform the function of a museum; but that is the Metropolitan's proper function in relation to a work like "Lucia." A museum piece—whether it is a painting of Constable, a novel of Jane Austen, or an opera of Donizetti—is capable of affecting us by its qualities as a work of art; and what in each instance performs the function of a museum makes it possible for us to be affected. What we may object to is not to the performing of the function, but to its being performed badly—to the painting being obscured by grime or poor hanging, the novel being published with errors or cuts, the opera being badly sung or staged in a way that makes no sense. And for the function to be performed well Jane Austen doesn't need to be rewritten in the style of Hemingway, Constable doesn't need to be repainted in the style of Picasso, and Donizetti doesn't need to be produced in the style of Meyerhold. To say, as some do, that the style of Meyerhold is necessary to interest Americans in opera is to say that opera itself has nothing to interest Americans—which is true only of some Americans; and then it may follow that we must do something with those Americans, but not that we must do things to opera.

## *CONTRIBUTORS*

SIDNEY HOOK is chairman of the Department of Philosophy at New York University. Among his books are "Reason, Social Myths, and Democracy" and "The Hero in History."

JOSEPH BORNSTEIN was for many years managing editor of the *Tagebuch* in Berlin and later became editor-in-chief of the *Pariser Tageblatt*.

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# LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

## A Soldier Wonders

*Dear Sirs:* A response like the following, sent to me by a technical sergeant stationed in Europe after I had mailed him a bundle of *Nations*, should help to confirm you and all of us in our determination to fight for a decent post-war world:

> I received a package of *Nations* from you this week and it did my heart good to see them, as I haven't seen one for at least a year. . . . I can only see this war as one in a series which will bring all of Europe and possibly America in ruins—spiritually and materially. The Germans have lost this war but the game will go on. I feel frustrated and helpless about it. Can I ever have time any more—or can mankind ever have time again—to do the worth-while things? I hope I don't sound too gloomy, but because of well-known events—Greece, etc.—and yet others less well known it is hard to be cheerful. The foundations for World War III have been laid.
>
> LEE ELBERT HOLT

Williamstown, Mass., December 30

## For Massachusetts Readers

*Dear Sirs:* You will be glad to hear that an organization affiliated with the National Citizens Political Action Committee is in the process of forming in Massachusetts.

We intend that this organization shall act aggressively on international, national, and local legislation and candidates, striving consistently for the extension of political, economic, and social democracy in this country and for the development of an effectively implemented world cooperation for peace and security.

May we extend, through your publication, an invitation to all liberal Massachusetts individuals and groups to get in touch with our headquarters at Room 822, 294 Washington Street, Boston, Massachusetts, so that they may join with us in organizing for effective action.

CATHERINE J. WITTON, Secretary

Boston, Mass., December 15

## Racism and Vansittart

*Dear Sirs:* It is the reviewer's privilege to disagree, but he should not distort. In my book, "The Tyrants' War and the People's Peace," reviewed by Rustem Vambery in *The Nation* of December 16, I did not base my claim that Vansittartism is racism in reverse merely upon the use of the word "race." I added: "As long as it is claimed that for two thousand years the Germans did exhibit the same qualities—'the Brazen Horde has not changed down the Ages' [a quotation from Vansittart]—there is a theory behind it. No theory which will cover such a case has yet been advanced except Hitler's 'racial theory'" (p. 21). In my interpretation I was preceded by certain writers whose knowledge of English terminology Mr. Vambery, I am sure, will not wish to challenge. Thus the author of an article entitled The Rise of Brutality, published in the *Economist* of December 27, 1941, states that "this gifted pamphleteer [meaning Vansittart] was able, in the fear and uncertainty of last summer, to canalize resentment into the easy channel of a racial myth. The Germans are to be for the British what the Jews are for Germany. . . ."

As for the statement, with which Mr. Vambery took issue, that before 1933 the Jews of Central Europe looked to Germany for a chance, I made it very clear that I was merely quoting "a young Hungarian Jewish scholar, who is now teaching in the United States." If evidence is needed, this gentleman will no doubt be glad to provide it.

Mr. Vambery absolutely distorts what I said about the concept of the "master-race" (pp. 234-35). That the Nazis believe themselves to be a master-race I never did—nor ever will—deny. I did—and do—deny, however, that the common people of Germany regard themselves as a master-race. I mentioned the Nazis' failure to preach the master-race doctrine in campaign meetings as a tacit admission that the people would not swallow such stuff.

When I discussed the insufficiency of the republican leaders (p. 99) I also referred to what I consider the major cause—namely, a system of proportional representation which was not even devised to produce leadership. The conclusion would seem to be that if you eliminate the cause you eliminate the effect. Mr. Vambery, by referring to what I said about one aspect of the matter and ignoring the other, again distorts my argument.

At no place in my book did I charge that Lord Vansittart had anything to do with Mr. Kaufman's proposal to sterilize—not "castrate," as Mr. Vambery says—all German males.

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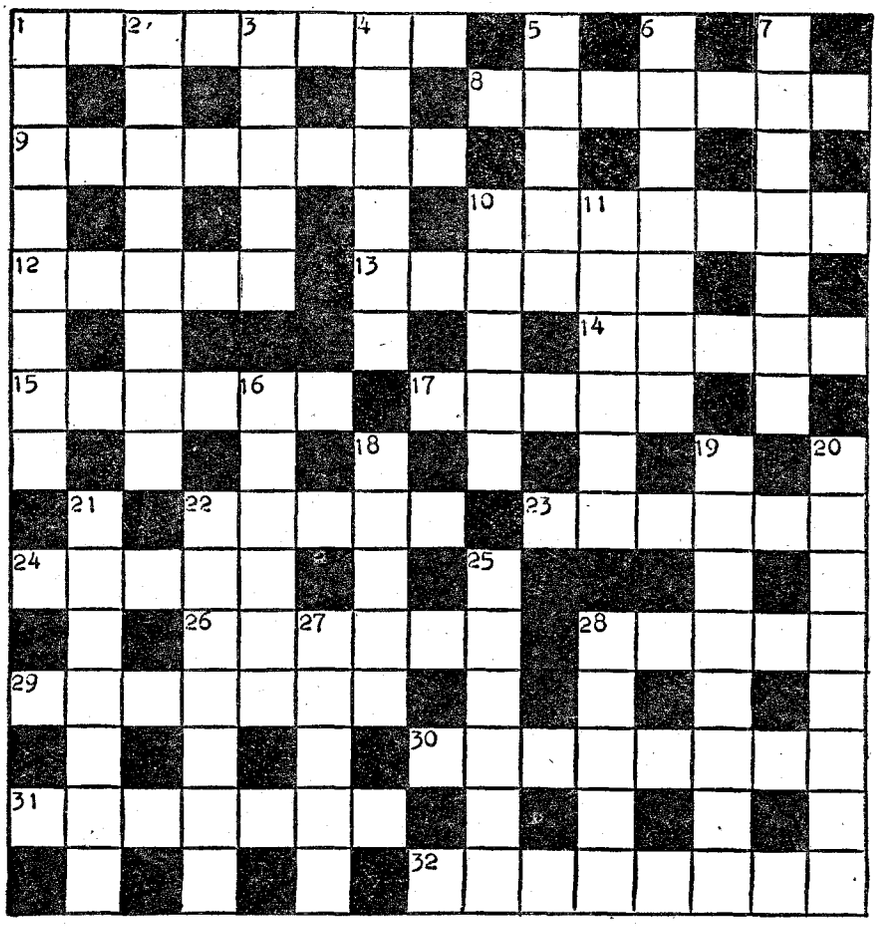
# Crossword Puzzle No. 99

By JACK BARRETT



### ACROSS

1 Gratification which makes an alibi certain
8 A fresh horse—at least the rider hopes it is!
9 Mounds of communal activity which are just made to order for ant-eaters (two words, 3 and 5)
10 Sullivan and he fought on several occasions
12 "The sweet simplicity of the ----- per cents" (Disraeli)
13 A man can usually just keep his head above this
14 Speech of the common man of Scotland
15 Ran with a Portuguese gentleman in aimless fashion
17 It is in a quiver before it is shot
22 Sort of speeches soapbox orators make
23 One must be a better man than him, said H. G. Wells, or what's the good of successive generations?
24 Such a matter is not of national importance
26 Sort of shooting-star
28 Can denim be this? Depends on how you look at it
29 Kicked upstairs
30 Simonides called it silent poetry
31 A fable
32 Why should this part-song make a girl mad?

### DOWN

1 It doesn't accompany the singing in church
2 Green tin (anag.)
3 The animal has twisted a sinew
4 Widow
5 Give him his due (he'll get it anyway)
6 He doesn't require much head room
7 Go on board
10 Nothing so expensive as this, according to one writer
11 Europe's largest lake
16 A means of escape
18 Don't, Edwin, let them be discovered here (hidden)
19 Hunting's diverting
20 Not one of the deserving poor
21 Gang leader
22 Boiler of Russian design
25 The fleet is involved in a drama
27 American electrical inventor associated with Edison
28 House of lords

**SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 98**

ACROSS:—1 TOTEM; 6 PEACE; 9 ALABAMA; 10 RAPID; 11 YEAST; 12 RANGERS; 16 HASSAN; 19 EASTER; 22 ASCENDANT; 23 ROOT; 24 RUTH; 25 CHOCOLATE; 26 BATH; 27 WEED; 28 ELIMINATE; 31 GOBLET; 33 IODATE; 36 TEARING; 39 FLASH; 40 GLOBE; 41 ANIMATE; 42 SHELL; 43 DOTTY.

DOWN:—1 TORCH; 2 TYPES; 3 MADRAS; 4 YARN; 5 VANE; 6 PAYSAN; 7 APART; 8 ENTER; 13 ANCHORITE; 14 GONDOLIER; 15 READ AGAIN; 17 AVOCADO; 18 SATCHEL; 20 STREWED; 21 ENTREAT; 29 LETHAL; 30 TOGGED; 31 GIFTS; 32 BRAKE; 34 ALOFT; 35 EVERY; 37 AXIS; 38 IVAN.

Let me add in conclusion that it is a strange thing indeed to call someone a German nationalist because he advocates a democratic Germany within the framework of a democratic federation of Europe, which in turn is to be integrated with a system of international democracy, commonly known as "collective security."

FERDINAND A. HERMENS

South Bend, Ind., December 31

## Not Convinced

*Dear Sirs:* Two wrongs do not make a right. Both Mr. Hermens and the *Economist* together are less competent to decide whether Vansittart is a "racialist" than Vansittart himself, who, in "The Nineteenth Century and After" (1942), made the following statement: "Again in the House of Lords I said that for reasons easily explained the bulk, not the whole, of the German nation—*and please note that I do not say 'race,'* I added explicitly—had become a nation of savage aggressors." Nor do I believe that an anonymous "young Hungarian scholar" whose evidence the author apparently did not examine is a more trustworthy authority on pre-Hitler anti-Semitism than Treitschke, Stöcker, Ritter von Schönerer, Lüger, and similar Germanic heroes, who certainly would not deny the fact that no Jew could fill higher posts in the civil service or become a reserve officer in the German army.

I leave it entirely to Mr. Hermens to determine whether those forty million Germans who at the plebiscite on November 12, 1933, cast their votes for Hitler were members of the Nazi master-race or just "common people," but I think, in view of this fact, that he underrates the swallowing capacity of the average German. I certainly did not "distort again" his argument by disbelieving the assumption that German democracy can be established by abolishing proportional representation. I certainly did not call the author a nationalist, but his being a "democrat" does not disprove it. On the contrary, the principal dogmas of democracy favored state omnipotence and the rise of nationalism. (Cf. "Nationality in History and Politics," by F. Hertz, 1944, p. 263.)

Nevertheless, democrats who attempt to cloak the blemishes of German nationalism render disservice not only to democracy but to the future of the German people as well.

RUSTEM VAMBERY

New York, January 6

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